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CHINA AMONG THE NATIONS

CHINA AMONG THE NATIONS

BY

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Wang An Shih—Chinese Statesman and Educationalist
and Mo Ti—A Chinese Heretic

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DEDICATED

TO

EMILY

my constant companion of the Chinese Road
and to

BABY JEAN

our Granddaughter interned in Shanghai

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PREFACE

As the world shrinks with the expansion and speeding up of communications, the peoples of all lands are being brought into more intimate contact than before. The war, too, has brought the nations of the world into new alignments on the basis of common and cherished ideals.

To me it appears essential, if these new and closer relationships are to develop along harmonious and co-operative lines, that mutual understanding among the nations should be promoted.

Particularly does that apply to our relationships with China, a land hitherto comparatively unknown to the peoples of the West; but now, by the exigencies of war, brought into vital and, it is hoped, fruitful alliance with the Western democracies. This alliance has already solved some of the problems which arose from our contacts in times past. And now that China has achieved "equal" political status with Great Britain and the U.S.A., the future for our mutual relationships is brighter than ever. But it is important, if the possibilities of this new relationship are to be fully realized, that our knowledge of Chinese civilization, culture and historical development should be increased.

In this book I have tried in brief compass to make a small contribution to that end. I count it a privilege to have lived in China from 1908 to 1938, and prize highly the fellowship which I enjoyed during that epoch-making period of her history with all classes of the Chinese people. I have, therefore, thought it well to write largely from the angle of my personal experience.

It is necessary that we should take a backward look, if we are to understand modern China. But while not neglecting her ancient cultural heritage, I have, as far as events are concerned, given particular attention to the last four formative decades. I have also endeavoured to deduce from her by no means dead past and critical present the place which China is likely to occupy among the nations of the modern world.

For the English rendering of classical quotations which appear in the text I accept responsibility, while at the same time gratefully acknowledging the help of translations by Legge, Soothill and Hughes, as well as those of Chinese scholars like Liang Ch'i Ch'ao and Feng Yü Lan.

I am indebted to Dr. Hugh Martin for many suggestions as to subject, scope and form of this book.

It has not been found practicable to include a full list of the books which have been consulted, but references to the main sources used are made in the footnotes.

H. R. WILLIAMSON.

PART I

ANCIENT CHINA: ANCESTRY OF THE NATION



CHAPTER I NAMES AND CHARACTERISTICS

1. *Names and Facts—Sincerity*

THE modern name of China, adopted on the inauguration of the newly constituted Chinese Republic on 1st January, 1912, when translated, means "The Middle Flowery People's Kingdom".¹ As the Chinese do not assume or confer names arbitrarily, their choice of this designation for their country was doubtless made with good reason. As at present constituted it comprises two ancient names for China—"Middle" and "Flowery"—and one—"People's"—quite modern. So that this name, by linking the past with the present, suggests that the China of four thousand years ago is still one with the China of to-day.

But not only is there impressed on its face "the march of time"; each of the characters of which the name is composed mirrors some aspect of the philosophy, culture and political idealism which is characteristic of the nation as a whole.

It seemed to me, therefore, that it might be interesting and profitable if we began our study of China and the Chinese with this unfamiliar, but nevertheless correct and very suggestive name of their country. In doing so we shall be in harmony with the saying of Confucius, that "the scholar is scrupulously careful in his use of words";² and we shall also be acting in accordance with the ethical principle which is enshrined in it, viz. "that names and the facts they denote should correspond".³

¹ This name had already been adopted by the first all-China Revolutionary Council called together by Sun Yat Sen in Japan 1904. See Van Dorn, *Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic*, p. 46.

² *Analects*.

³ See *History of Chinese Philosophy* by Feng Yü Lan, pp. 302-311.

It would seem that we can trace this typically Confucian principle to the way in which the Chinese language originated and developed. As we endeavour to do so, we shall at the same time be considering one of the basic ethical ideals of the Chinese philosophy, which is usually translated "Sincerity".

The most primitive Chinese "characters" (the equivalent of our English "words") are in the form of "pictograms", or attempts to reproduce by ink and pen the forms of material objects. For example ☺ "the sun", ☽ "the moon", 木 "a tree", etc. This is the earliest evidence we have in the language of an attempt to make names and things correspond.

Later on, as man's knowledge increased, it was found necessary to try to depict mental "images" or abstract "ideas", and so more complex forms arose which are known as "ideograms". Two of the five basic ethical concepts¹ of the Confucian philosophy are represented by "characters" which afford good illustrations of this. The first is 仁 "ren", which on analysis is found to be composed of 亼 "man", and 二 "two", and represents "man in relationship with his fellows". But at some point in its history, perhaps even at the very beginning, this character acquired ethical significance, so that it came to mean not merely physical relationships between men, but to express the "right" relationship that should subsist between them. In this way this word came to serve as the standard or ideal of human relationships and is usually translated "benevolence", "altruism" or "love".

The same development may be observed in connection with the second of these characters 義 "ei". This is composed of 羊 "sheep" and 我 "I", or "my", conveying the idea of "me and my sheep". This obviously represents a primitive concept of property rights, dating back to the time when the Chinese were mainly engaged in pastoral

¹ Benevolence, Righteousness, Courtesy or Consideration, Wisdom and Good Faith.

pursuits; but the meaning was later extended to cover everything conceived of as morally right. The later meaning of the word is usually translated "right", "just" or "righteous", according to the context in which it is found.

So we see how a word gradually came to represent a standard or norm of human behaviour, social relationships and moral judgment. This was the second attempt, and a very interesting one, "to make words and facts correspond".

Many Chinese philosophers, and Confucius in particular, carried this process a stage further by stressing the necessity to exemplify in character and conduct the ethical ideals suggested by these terms, so that one was under a moral obligation to "make words and deeds correspond".

This finds interesting illustration in the *Analects*, the book which contains the dialogues of Confucius and his disciples.

Confucius (551-479 B.C.) lived in the period of Chinese history which is known as the "Warring States", when, as the power of the throne weakened in the latter half of the Chow dynasty, bitter and constant warfare was waged between the various feudal rulers in their rivalry for the Presidency of the princes.

Confucius, in an effort to remedy this deplorable state of affairs, gave up his private teaching and an important official position, and devoted himself for a period of thirteen years to a mission of pacification. In those days it was proverbial that "the character of the ruler is as the wind, that of the people as the grass", and that "when the wind blows the grass bends". So Confucius, by directing the minds of the rulers to the basic moral principles of government, hoped that they might be diverted from their warlike pursuits, and be persuaded to devote themselves to the welfare of the people, the cause which he himself had so much at heart.

In the course of his journeyings, he was invited by the Prince of the Wei State to advise him on questions of government. "But first of all," said the messenger, Tzu Lu (one of Confucius' own disciples), "the ruler would like to know where you would begin." Confucius promptly replied: "With the correction of names." "Surely," rejoined Tzu Lu, "that is very wide of the mark."¹ However, this statement of Confucius proved to be very much to the point. For it

¹ *Analects* XIII, 3.

transpired that the existing ruler of Wei had dispossessed his father of his throne and seized it himself. As he was both unfilial and a usurper he was neither worthy of the name of "son" nor "ruler", and so in this respect "Names did not correspond with facts" in the government of the State of Wei.

This point is illustrated by another incident. For when another Prince, the Duke Ching of Chi, asked Confucius about government, he replied: "Let the prince be a prince, a minister a minister, a father a father, a son a son." "Excellent," replied the Duke, "for if the prince be not a prince, the minister not a minister, the father not a father, the son not a son, no matter how much grain I possess, is it likely I shall be allowed to eat it?"¹

We see from these incidents something of what is implied in the Confucian principle that "names should correspond with facts", and of the Chinese idea of "Sincerity", namely, that everyone, no matter what his status might be, was morally obliged to live up to the ideals associated with his particular position, and to carry them into effect. In that way it was hoped that a benevolent and just social order would arise and that peace would ensue.

2. *The Middle Kingdom—Moderation*

Now for an illustration of this principle in connection with our subject. The Chinese do not speak of their country by the names "Cathay" or "China", so familiar to us in the West. In fact, they actually deprecate the use of the former, as Hsiao Chien, a modern Chinese writer, has shown by choosing as the title of his latest book for Western readers, *China, but not Cathay*.² This name is derived from a tribe known as the Chitans (or Khitans), formerly alien and inimical to the Chinese, whose original home was in what we now know as Manchuria, or Manchukuo. After centuries of bitter warfare, they occupied great tracts of the northern half of China from the tenth to the early part of the twelfth century A.D. It is probable that the territory they occupied was known as Chit'ai and that, through Russian contacts with these northern nomads, this name in its corrupt form

¹ *Analects XII, 11.*

² Published by the Pilot Press.

of Cathay, as found in Marco Polo's famous book of travels,¹ has been transmitted to the West. As a matter of fact, Marco Polo only used Cathay to designate North China, using the name Mangi for the southern half of the country. Therefore, there is little justification for the use of "Cathay" to designate what is more commonly known as "China".

The name familiar in the West is, of course, China, which is derived from the name of a feudal state, Chin, the Prince of which became the Emperor of the first all-China dynasty in 221 B.C. He is the famous (or infamous!) Chin Shih Huang Ti, and the name adopted for his dynasty, Chin, was transmitted to the Western world, via Asia, as China. It is interesting to note that the Japanese have known China for centuries as "Chih-Na".

Are we justified in using this as the name of the country? It is true that the Emperor of Chin rendered an outstanding contribution to the formation and development of the Chinese nation, by his unification of the country after five hundred years of incessant civil strife; by the completion of the Great Wall; by the promulgation, with the help of his minister, Li Ssu, of a unified script upon which, with some modification, is based the written language of to-day; by the standardization of weights and measures, and by adopting the camel-hair brush for writing discovered by one of his officials, Mengtien.

But such achievements are more than offset by the cruel and tyrannical way in which he carried these measures out. For he not only endeavoured to destroy the Confucian literature by ordering a great holocaust of the classical books, he also sought to obliterate every trace of preceding history, policy and thought which was contrary to his own totalitarian ideas. If the stones of the Great Wall could cry out, they would tell their own terrible story not only of toil and sweat, but of blood and tears. It is said that many Confucian scholars were buried alive in the Wall itself.

It is pertinently suggested by Professor E. R. Hughes, of Oxford, that a part of the famous Chinese classic, popularly known as *The Doctrine of the Mean*, which propounds a moderate and middle-way policy of government, was written

¹ The best account in English is *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* by Colonel Yule, as revised by Cordier. But a small edition was issued in Cassell's National Library Series.

in the time of this first Chinese Emperor, with the definite idea of converting this ancient Führer from his inhuman totalitarianism to the eternal verities of Confucian teaching.¹ It is then understandable why the Chinese do not call their country Chin-a, or speak of themselves as the people of Chin. We might observe in passing, that the dynasty of Chin Shih Huang Ti, proudly trumpeted as destined to last for ever, came to a bloody end after only fifteen years.

What, then, do the Chinese call their country? Prior to 1911, when the modern republic was founded, she was termed Chung Kuo, or The Middle Kingdom. This designation is found in the Chinese classic mentioned above, viz. *The Doctrine of the Mean*, and in another classic *The Great Learning*, both of which date from the third century B.C.

The context in *The Great Learning* suggests that this designation had at first merely geographical significance. For the Chinese, when first they became conscious of their entity as a tribe, were surrounded by alien tribes, and so it was natural that they should think of themselves as the people occupying The Middle Kingdom. But as they gradually extended their influence over their "barbarian" neighbours, no doubt the Chinese began to regard their State as the political and cultural "hub" of the universe.

The ideogram for Middle is 中 .

However that may be, it is interesting to note that some Chinese scholars have made another suggestion regarding the name "The Middle Kingdom". For instance, the famous Viceroy Chang Chih Tung in his book *Learn*² (written in 1898, the year of the Great Reform Movement) contends that the real meaning of "Chung Kuo" is "The Kingdom of the Middle-Way Philosophy", interpreted by him as the basic Confucian doctrines of loyalty to the throne, filial regard for one's parents and elders, and the obedience of wives to their husbands. To his mind, Democracy was an extreme conception, as was the current advocacy of equality between the sexes, and the assertion of youthful independence associated with it.

It is possible that this particular interpretation of the

¹ *The Great Learning and the Mean-in-Action*, E. R. Hughes, p. 99.

² Translated with the title *China's Only Hope* by S. I. Woodbridge. See pp. 43-46.

name is due to its being first found in *The Doctrine of the Middle Way*. But, as Madame Chiang Kai Shek has recently said, "The ideal society, according to the genius of our race, is 'The Golden Mean', the middle of the road, where all manner of extremes are to be avoided."¹ So in the opinion of the first lady of the land, such an interpretation would seem to be acceptable, and it will be worth our while to give a little attention to this typically Chinese social philosophy.

According to the classical interpretation, "The Way is not far from men"; it is as accessible to the common man as to the learned and the great; it is one which should be followed by all.

Confucius said that all his teachings were "threaded on" one principle, which he terms 舒 "shu", or "reciprocity",² as though he would say, "Loyalty to one's own inner feelings, and real sympathy with the feelings of others,³ bring one very close to the right way of life."

It is interesting to note that the Chinese equivalent of the Golden Rule in both its negative and positive aspects is found in this classic. The negative expression reads: "What you do not like in the treatment of yourself by others, do not mete out to them."⁴ The positive aspect is implicit in the following, reported to be the words of Confucius himself: "There are four essentials of the ideal life, in regard to which I find myself defective, namely, to honour my father as I should like my son to honour me; to serve my ruler as I should desire my minister to serve me; to behave to my elder brother as I should wish my younger brother to behave to me; and to show my friends an example of how I should like them to treat me. In all these respects I have failed"⁵ (a very interesting sidelight on the character of Confucius).

¹ *New Life from Within*, published by C.L.S., Shanghai, p. 16.

² *Analects* IV, 15.

³ The "ideogram" for "Reciprocity" suggests "Acting in accordance with the feeling of one's own heart".

⁴ *Doctrine of the Mean*, hereafter referred to as the *Mean*. Cp. XIV, 3. Also *Analects* XV, 23.

⁵ *Mean* XIV, 4. For a very able and comprehensive study of this whole subject see *The Chinese Sages and the Golden Rule* by Dr. H. H. Rowley.

The "Middle Way", ideally interpreted, means that one's feelings should be in a state of poise within, and in harmony with the universe without. Desires should be regulated; passions should be temperate; a reasonable and common-sense attitude should be taken to life. Due regard should be paid to circumstances in the administration of justice or in expressing judgment, and one ought to be considerate of the feelings of others.

But the whole personality should be integrated by a sincere devotion to what is known to be right or true. In that respect "The Way should never be left for an instant". This finds illustration in the words of Mencius: "There is that which I like more than life, and dislike more than death. I desire both life and righteousness, but if I cannot get both I will let life go."¹ Also in the experience of the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, who during his period of captivity in Sianfu in 1936, said to his captors: "For the upholding of those moral principles which I have repeatedly emphasized to the people, I am ready to undergo any sacrifice", and again, "I have repeatedly refused to give any orders or sign anything you wanted me to sign while under duress. It is because I consider life or death a small matter compared with the upholding of moral principles."²

So we see that from time immemorial typical representatives of the Chinese people have been ready to sacrifice their lives in holding fast to the "right way". That is because they have imbibed deeply at this Fountain Head of the Chinese philosophy of the Middle Way: "If a right-minded man should find himself falling short of the ideal, he rouses himself to attain it, but is careful not to go beyond the limits of what is just and right. His words and deeds are in strict accord. The truly noble man is absolutely sincere."³ A Chinese proverb reads, "Square inside and round outside." This is symbolized in the old round Chinese coins, with a square hole in the middle, and many other common emblems, all of which suggest this dual aspect of the doctrine.

¹ Mencius, Book VI, Pt. 1, Cp. X, 1.

² See *Chiang Kai Shek* by Hollington K. Tong, p. 594, an authorized biography of the Generalissimo, in two volumes, published by Hurst and Blackett.

³ Mean XIII, 4.

Such, then, is the Chinese "Way of Life", the classic moral and political philosophy of the Chinese people. It is this which accounts for the reasonable, practical, human qualities which characterize the people as a whole, and which, linked with their genuine moral fibre, makes singularly appropriate the designation of their country as "The Kingdom of the Middle Way".

3. *The Flowery Kingdom—Culture*

The retention of 華 "Hua", translated "flowery splendour" by Lin Yü Tang,¹ a metaphor for "culture", in the new name of their country reflects the pride of the Chinese in their ancient civilization. Admittedly this pride accounts to some extent for the traditional conservatism of the Chinese, and, because of the prejudice that it has engendered, was a hindrance to their progress, particularly in the nineteenth century, towards modern nationhood. But in the light of the great cultural achievements of the nation in the past, the inclusion of this epithet in the national designation would seem to be justified.

By the beginning of the Chow dynasty in 1122 B.C., the Chinese had attained to a high degree of civilization. This included the possession of a written language, bronze implements and ornaments, coloured pottery, solid and æsthetic architecture, the manufacture of silk and cloth, the use of chariots, boats and carts, and the keeping of domestic animals. They calculated the equinoxes and determined the calendar. They had also a highly developed religious state cult, and a complete if somewhat loosely organized feudal system of government.

Their ancient system of writing has developed from the traditional knotted cords and notched sticks attributed to Tsang Chieh, through pictograms, ideograms and phonograms, the combination of radical and phonetic, and the introduction of an ingenious tonal system, to the comprehensive and flexible system of to-day, consisting of some sixty thousand symbols; the proved and prized medium

¹ *The Importance of Living*, p. 454—Character 51.

of visual expression of every form of man's thought—poetical, philosophical and scientific.¹

Their earliest books were made up of bamboo or wooden tablets strung together, and we know that historical records were in existence before the eighth century B.C.

Paper, which did not reach Europe until about A.D. 1100, was invented in China by Tsai Lun in 105 B.C. Probably the earliest form of printing was in the nature of "rubbings" taken from incised stone, or the impression of seals cut in jade, ivory or bone. In A.D. 627, the whole classical literature of China, then comprising thirteen books, was carved in stone. These tablets are housed, together with the famous Nestorian Monument, in the Forest of Tablets at Sianfu. The first dictionary in Chinese was published in A.D. 121, written in small seal characters.

Wooden block printing, leading to the publication of bound printed paper books, dates with certainty from the ninth century A.D., the earliest extant sample being a Buddhist Sutra, bearing the date A.D. 868, found by Aurel Stein in the grottoes of Tun Huang. The discovery of the revolutionary art of printing was made by the Chinese at least six centuries before Gutenberg. The use of movable metallic type is credited to a Chinese, Pi Sheng, in the eleventh century. By the middle of the eighteenth century tens of thousands of printed volumes, comprising the twenty-four dynastic histories, the thirteen classics, and great encyclopædias of literature,² biography, philosophy, poetry, essays, laws and political theories, were found in the Imperial Library.

The compass was not known in Europe until the thirteenth century A.D., but reference is made to the magnetic needle, termed the "South-pointing chariot", in Chinese literature of the sixth century B.C. Columbus and Vasco da Gama, who accomplished their epoch-making voyages by this means in the fifteenth century, were preceded by Chinese mariners who used the compass for coastal voyages a thousand years before.

¹ See *The Evolution of Chinese Writing* by Prof. G. Owen, and *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* by Karlgren.

² K'ang Hsi's famous Encyclopædia, of which the British Museum possesses a copy, comprises 5,020 volumes. See *China*, R. K. Douglas, p. 422.

The credit for the discovery of gunpowder, at once the potent protector and possible destroyer of civilization, is claimed, amongst others, both by the Hindus and the Chinese. If, as is probable, the Chinese were the first, the discovery was probably made by Taoist alchemists who, in their search for the elixir of life, accidentally, and probably disastrously for the experimenter, chanced upon this instrument of death. Rockets were used by the Chinese long before 255 B.C., and cannon were certainly in use in the year A.D. 1232, and probably as early as A.D. 767, whereas we have no record of cannon in European history earlier than the year 1338.

In Chinese historical records there is an account of an eclipse of the sun in the year 571 B.C., which has been confirmed by modern astronomers. Both astronomical science and astrology were familiar to the Chinese of Confucius' day.

Sculptures revealing traces of Assyrian and Greek influence, dating from the second century B.C., are extant. The Buddhists, who reached China in the early years of the first Christian century, contributed greatly to this aspect of Chinese art. There are in existence stone lions of the later Han dynasty, terminating A.D. 221, which are among the first and finest specimens of sculpture in the round.

The Chinese were known to the Romans in the early years of the Christian era as the "Seres", on account of their skill in the manufacture of silk and their traffic in this commodity with the Western world so long ago.

The Chinese are famous for their artistic genius. Beautiful specimens of their calligraphy and painting, many of them on gorgeous silk scrolls, have been exhibited in the West. Two of their earliest painted pictures, which date from the fourth century A.D., are by the renowned artist, Ku Kai Chih. One of these is in the possession of the British Museum, and the other is in New York. The late Laurence Binyon, an eminent authority on this subject, pronounced the landscapes of the Sung dynasty (960-1127) as amongst the finest in the world.

The manufacture of porcelain was begun very early by the Chinese. Some of the best specimens date from the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-970). This was one of the most glorious cultural periods in Chinese history, when the famous poets, Li Tai Po and Tu Fu, flourished, whose works have been

made familiar to English readers in the able translations of Arthur Waley.¹ It was in this period that Japanese visitors to the Imperial Court, then located at Sianfu, were so impressed with the grandeur of Chinese civilization that they took away with them books and teachers and transplanted Chinese culture to their own land. From that time the Japanese adopted the Chinese language for literary purposes, began to study their ancient classics, "and to imitate their fine arts.

During the Sung dynasty which followed, art of all kinds flourished exceedingly, many of the emperors being renowned for their skill in painting. Although the dynasty was characterized by military weakness and numerous Court factions, it was also famous for the revival of ancient political ideologies, akin to state socialism, by the reformer Wang An Shih,² and for the rise of the neo-Confucianist school of philosophy, which made an abiding impression on the Chinese mind.

Marco Polo, by the publication of his account of long residence and extensive travel in China during the Mongol dynasty (1260-1368), brought the cultural magnificence of Cathay to the notice of the European public. Its praises were chanted by Chaucer, Milton, Coleridge and others. One well-known Chinese writer has claimed "that in the development of human civilization before the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Chinese achievement was second to none in the world".³

During the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century Jesuit missionaries were in high favour at the Chinese Imperial Court. These included Adam Schaal, appointed to the Chinese Astronomical Board; Verbiest, who became Director of the Observatory, made cannon for the Chinese, and was commended by the Pope for having "used the profane sciences for the safety of the people and the advancement of the Faith"; and Gerbillon, who, with another Jesuit, Pereira, negotiated on China's behalf with Russia the first treaty which that country signed with a European Power, at Nertschinsk in 1689.⁴ Thanks to these,

¹ e.g. see his *170 Chinese Poems* (Constable).

² Author's *Wang An Shih*, Vol. II, Chap. X.

³ Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, *Chinese Political Thought*, p. 6.

⁴ Quoted from Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine* by Dr. H. F.

not only porcelain, and that great civilizer, tea, reached Europe, but, as Professor L. A. Maverick has shown,¹ Western scientists and scholars, like Leibnitz, Newton and Fréret, French political economists, like Voltaire and Quesney, the self-styled Confucius of Europe (a title which Goldsmith had previously claimed for himself), show many traces of indebtedness to Confucius, Mencius and other Chinese philosophers, for their state theories and innovations in government.

Reference must also be made to the skill of Chinese craftsmen in jade, ivory, bone, bronze, lacquer, porcelain and bamboo. These, and the patience and beautiful handwork of their women, as revealed in colourful embroideries on silk, are by now fairly familiar to the West, as the result of the Chinese Exhibition staged at Burlington House in 1938. Monuments to their architectural and engineering genius are the Great Wall, the noble palaces and temples of Peking and other cities, the fine Marco Polo Bridge in the vicinity of which the Sino-Japanese conflict broke out in 1937, and the Grand Canal opened in the sixth century A.D. Their farmers are famous for their agricultural methods, rotation of crops and irrigation, and their medical men, in spite of much that is superstitious in their craft, have added (by the discovery of certain useful drugs) to the world's medical knowledge.

The ancient official examinations of China are said to have furnished the model for our own Civil Service system. Their numerous schools of philosophy, their care in preserving historical records, their political theories and government experiments, their laws and judicial system, their high ethical code and religious ideals, their organization of industrial and commercial guilds represent a contribution to world civilization of considerable importance. Such facts as these justify the Chinese in incorporating "cultured" in their national designation.

4. "The People's Kingdom"—Democracy

Coming now to the third and fourth terms of this new MacNair in his pamphlet *Critical Moments in the History of Christianity in China*, p. 11.

¹ *Chinese Influence upon the Physiocrats*, reprinted from *Economic History*, February 1938.

national title, we must embark on another short philological study. Lin Yü Tang, the popular interpreter of China to the West, in his book *The Importance of Living*, says, "Every word has a life and personality usually not recorded in a dictionary." That is certainly true of the fourth character in the modern name for China. This means "Kingdom", "State", or "Country", and consists of two parts. The first □ is the geographical boundary of the State. Inside is 爭 which means "in doubt" or "uncertain". So the diagram as a whole 国 implies that the authority of those in power was "contingent" in character, and their tenure of the throne "uncertain", which affords an interesting clue to the ancient Chinese idea of "political stewardship".¹

The earliest form of government in Chinese history that is known to us is that of the individual ruler. But he was not an arbitrary ruler, free to govern the people well or ill at his own choice. On the contrary, it was assumed that he received his mandate from Heaven, and that he, as Heaven's vicegerent, with the title of "Son of Heaven", was expected to govern the people in line with Heaven's will, in accordance with the classical principles that "Heaven provides the pattern for government, and all social arrangements", and that "The work is Heaven's, and man (the ruler) acts for Heaven".

This ancient Chinese ideogram for "State" or "Country" expresses then the truth embodied in another classical dictum of government, viz. that "Heaven's mandate is not easily preserved", and represents a warning to the ruler, lest he, by administering the country in a manner unworthy of his sacred trust, should forfeit the favour of Heaven and lose his throne.

This, then, is the first ancient Chinese principle of democracy—that the ruler was such, not by Divine Right,

¹ To avoid overloading this section with notes and references to the numerous quotations from the Chinese classics which it contains, the reader is referred to the following books, where the principles outlined here are concisely summarized, viz. *Political Philosophy of Confucianism* by L. S. Hsü, Chap. IX; *Ancient Chinese Political Theories* by K. C. Wu, Chap. I; and *Chinese Political Thought* by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, particularly the Appendices I-XIII.

but by Divine "delegation", the authority to rule being contingent on the ruler's obedience to Heaven's will.

Naturally this called for special qualifications in the ruler. Chinese history shows that in early times succession to the throne was not governed by heredity, but by moral worth. In this way Yao the Emperor was succeeded by Shun, and Yü was selected as Shun's successor, the sons being passed over in each case. The first instance of the hereditary principle was when Yü was succeeded by his son Chi, in 2197 B.C. But in this particular case it is specifically stated that his moral fitness rendered him eligible for the office. "Worth and ability" were the normal prerequisites for official life under the Confucian system.

It is interesting also to note that Chinese history records many instances of the rise of men from the humblest stations in life to the most influential posts in the Government. The Emperor Shun was a farmer. Yi, the famous Minister to the Emperor Tang, was a cook. A bricklayer, Fu Yueh, and a fisherman, Lu Wan, both attained to the highest ministerial rank. Confucius himself was of very humble origin. But by character and ability he became the most honoured and influential of Chinese citizens; in fact, for untold centuries he was regarded as the uncrowned king of China. Right down to modern times the Chinese Civil Service examination system has provided the poorest and the lowliest in the land with the opportunity of attaining to the most influential posts in the Chinese Government service.

It was, then, a basic principle of political philosophy that "all men are equal", expressed in modern terms by H. C. Dent as "The belief in the sanctity, the value, and the significance of human personality".¹ For in the minds of these ancient Chinese, every Dick, Tom and Harry was regarded as a possible Yao and Shun, the most famous model rulers of antiquity.

Moreover, there was an important corollary to this political doctrine of a "virtuous vicegerent of Heaven". From the earliest times the will of Heaven was supposed to be revealed in the will of the people. For "Heaven had conferred upon the people a moral sense", and so they could know what form of government was best for them. "Heaven sees as the people see, Heaven hears as the people

¹ *A New Order in English Education.*

hear." In a word, the people were regarded as interpreters of Heaven's will. Their voice was regarded as the voice of God. ("Vox populi, vox Dei.") So the ruler's Divinely delegated authority was further conditioned by the favour and will of the people. The Great Learning declared: "By winning the support of the people the kingdom is won, by losing the support of the people the kingdom is lost."

Mencius said: "The people are the most valuable element in the nation. Territory is of secondary importance, and the ruler is of minor account." One of the commonest expressions on the lips of Chinese peasants in pre-Republican days was the classical epigram, "The people are the root or foundation of the State." And Confucius affirmed: "You can rob the army of its general, but not the common man of his will."

Mencius also propounded the principle of revolt, urging that in the event of the ruler proving unworthy of his sacred trust, it was the duty of the people to overthrow him. It was in accordance with this principle that Prince Wu overthrew the tyrant King Chow, and brought the Shang dynasty to an inglorious end in 1122 B.C. It was this spirit also which partly animated Sun Yat Sen and his revolutionary colleagues in overthrowing the effete and corrupt Manchu dynasty in 1911, and establishing the modern Chinese Republic.

This theo-democratic principle of rule in ancient times, that the rulers were finally responsible to Heaven and the people conjointly, persisted throughout Chinese history. And to-day the forsaken Altar of Heaven in Peiping (Peking) is an eloquent witness to this ancient ideal.

From the above, it will be seen that from the earliest times the principle that government should be "of the people" has been known in China, and, to a certain extent, observed.

The second principle of Republican Government, as enunciated by Abraham Lincoln, that government should be "for the people", is one also long established in Chinese political thought.

Naturally, as the people were the most valuable element in the nation, and as God was considered to be chiefly concerned in the people's well-being, it followed that the ruler,

as God's vicegerent, was expected to administer the State for their welfare. Confucius said: "How numerous the people are, feed them, teach them." He taught also the supreme value of the individual, and so it was natural that he should urge all in authority to make the welfare of the common people their main concern. Ideally, all rulers were regarded as parents of the people.

This is particularly emphasized by Motzu,¹ the great advocate of universal and non-discriminating love, who argued that those in authority should, in line with the revealed will of Heaven, share all the revenue and produce of the State equally with the people. Anything that deprived the common man of the means of livelihood to the full extent of the State's resources was to him anathema. In particular, he was opposed to all wasteful and extravagant expenditure upon State ceremonies, music, big funerals and the civil wars which characterized his age.

It is true that not all rulers and ministers in Chinese history have acted as "parents of the people". There have been monarchs like Chin Shih Huang Ti, ministers like Shang Yang and political philosophers of the Legalist School, who by the institution of violent totalitarian regimes have harshly suppressed the liberties of the people and endeavoured to keep them both ignorant and in serfdom.

But in the Chow dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), although land was regarded as belonging to the Government, it was free to be used by the people who, for the privilege, returned to the Government a proportion of the produce of their labours. The land tax has always been the main source of revenue in China, based usually on a very moderate rate of assessment, normally at about 10 per cent of the yield. Provision was made in the most ancient times for lighter taxation in famine or flood, which frequently occurred. Allowance was also made for the type of land which the farmer was working, and due regard was paid to the distance over which the taxed grain had to travel. Furthermore, we read in the very earliest books of provision being made for old age pensions and widows' and orphans' allowances.

Economically and educationally, the people were afforded full opportunity for development. The most popular slogan of the Republican regime to-day is taken from the oldest

¹ Author's *Mo Ti, a Chinese Heretic*, pp. 19-23, 29, 33-34.

Chinese book: "All the Empire's resources for the common good." (Tien Hsia Wei Kung.)¹

Confucius opened his classes to all comers without distinction,² and, as has been said above, the Civil Service system enabled all to share in the opportunity for political advancement.

Class distinctions of noble and commoner, based on rank and wealth, existed in the feudal age. The autocracy included dukes, lords, viscounts, marquises and earls. But as time passed, men were distinguished mainly by their personal worth.

From this it will be seen that, ideally at any rate, the Chinese were not only familiar with, but observed to some extent, the second Republican tenet that government should be "for the people".

What can we say of the third principle of Republicanism—that government should be "by the people"?

The earliest records, dating back to tribal times, when the population was small, suggest that the people had a voice in the election of their rulers. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao affirms that "in those days gatherings of the whole population discussed questions of public import, like change of the capital, or the enthronement of a ruler".³ Also, as has been observed above, on occasion the people exercised their right to change their ruler by revolutionary methods if he failed to satisfy them.

In the book of Kuan Tzu (third century B.C.⁴), one of the most important sources of Chinese political ideology and procedure, we read: "A Government prospers in so far as it acts in accordance with the mind of the people." "The ruler must govern so as to capture and unite the people's hearts." "It is futile to act against the people's desire." "The people are to approve the laws before they are made, and then be expected to keep them."

It is evident from these quotations that due regard was paid to the will of the people in matters of government;

¹ Quoted in *San Min Chu I* by Sun Yat Sen, p. 169, in the words of Confucius, "When the Great Doctrine prevails, all under Heaven will work for the common good."

² *Analects*, VII, 7; XV, 38.

³ Op. cit., p. 152.

⁴ K. C. Wu, op. cit., pp. 127-150.

in fact, their opinion was supposed to represent the final authority.

Now let us consider what practical provision, if any, was made for the expression of the people's will. Was the principle "One should never muzzle the people", enunciated in an ancient book called *The Narratives of the States*,¹ ever put into effect?

It would seem that one medium whereby the will of the people could be expressed was in the folk-songs which representatives of the Government were supposed to collect and transmit to the ruler at special seasons. Government agents were supposed to travel through the villages and countryside ringing a wooden-tongued bell to elicit the opinions of the people, and in particular to discover their grievances. Confucius was styled "the wooden-tongued bell".

Later on, as the Government became better organized, provision was made for the hearing of the people's complaints by the establishment of a special organ known as the "Censorate". Through this medium, petitions could be presented to the throne, and the impeachment of highly placed officials was rendered feasible. Frequent advantage was taken of this. At the last resort, if the ruler continued obdurate to all criticism, or their grievances remained unredressed, the people could assert their rights by means of armed revolt.

It is evident, therefore, that the principles of Lincoln's great dictum that "government should be of and for and by the people" have been known to the Chinese from very ancient times.

But it is also obvious that democracy in China has, until more recent times, remained idealistic rather than functional in character, and that "the fundamental weakness of ancient Chinese political thinking lay in not making any real provision for government by the people".

However, as the basic principle of rulership was the virtuous character of the ruler, the people were, to some extent, protected from injustice. In effect, the rulers said to the people: "Support us by your taxes, and we will rule for your good." The people, in effect, said to the ruler: "Take our taxes, but let us alone." This spirit of mutual agreement in regard to government finds expression in the Liberty

¹ Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, op. cit., p. 151.

Song of Ancient China: "When the sun rises, I toil; when the sun sets, I rest. I dig wells of water, I till the fields for good; what has the Emperor's power to do with me?"¹ So no wonder that on the inauguration of the Republican regime in 1911 the people of China were found totally unprepared to participate in that particular form of government. For long centuries they had kept, or been kept, aloof from politics. Autocracy and bureaucracy had prevailed.

But throughout monarchical, feudal, totalitarian and bureaucratic types of government, China has remained essentially democratic at heart. This has not been expressed in formal parliamentary institutions so much as in the recognition that freedom and equality are the inalienable rights of the human spirit.

¹ *San Min Chu I*, p. 209.

CHAPTER II HISTORY

1. *An Ancient Civilization*

ARCHÆOLOGICAL interests in China are now cared for by the Academia Sinica, a Research Department of the National Government, under the lead of Ts'ai Yuan Pei. But formerly such matters were left largely to individual Chinese and any foreigner who chanced to have an interest in the subject.

Confucius said: "Wherever there are three men walking together one of them will prove to be my teacher." I have always had one or two colleagues in China keen on archæology, who have stimulated my own interest and to whom I am deeply indebted. Amongst these I would mention Dr. F. H. Chalfont, Dr. Paul Bergen, Rev. S. Couling and Professor J. M. Menzies, who are credited with important pioneer work in the collection and interpretation of what are now popularly called "the oracle bones". A collection of seventy-one pieces was at one time under my care. Recently thousands of them have been recovered at An Yang, in Honan, where the Shang dynasty had their capital 1395-1122 b.c. The chief importance of these bones lies in the inscriptions found upon them, which are in the earliest known forms of Chinese writing, and which afford clues to the history, civilization and religion of the Chinese people in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries b.c.

Investigation of these inscriptions enables us to put back authentic Chinese history from 860 b.c. to at least 1618 b.c.¹

Nearly half the inscriptions are concerned with the ritual of ancestor worship, showing how ancient and important that typical Chinese custom is. The rest are concerned with wars, Imperial tours of inspection, weather, harvest, famine, hunting, fishing and the like. From them we learn that

¹ The facts assembled here are based on studies by J. M. Menzies. *The Culture of the Shang Dynasty*, *The Oracle Bones of the Shang Dynasty*, etc., and *An-Yang, a Retrospect* by W. P. Yetts.

the animals which were extant in North China at that time included elephants, water-buffaloes and tigers. These bones also indicate the extent of the geographical area ruled by the Shang dynasty.

It is evident from these bone inscriptions that the people of those days possessed a high degree of culture. They wrote on bamboo, as well as bone, and made use of coloured inks. We learn, too, that they observed an elaborate religious ritual, including offerings and prayers to the Supreme Being, Shang-Ti, accompanied by dancing and instrumental and vocal music. Mr. Menzies has demonstrated that the character used for God found on these bones originally signified "burnt offering", which suggests something of the nature of this ancient worship.

A comparison of the character on the oracle bones for God, which is  or , with the eight-pointed star of the Accadians (a resemblance too striking to be accidental), leads to the inference that there must have been some connection between Babylon and China in those early days, an inference which finds support in the astronomical and astrological parallels between the two traditions.

These inscriptions show that the ancestors of the Shang rulers were believed to be living on in Heaven, a faith which is echoed in the Odes, where King Wen is described as "ascending and descending on the right hand of God". We learn, too, that offerings in the form of animals and wine were made to departed ancestors, and that it was believed they were able to join with their descendants in a communion meal when the offerings were made with sincere heart.

It was, too, the practice in those times to seek responses from God and their departed ancestors as to the good fortune, or otherwise, which might attend a certain projected course of action, in much the same manner as the ancient Greeks consulted the Delphic Oracle.

Dr. J. G. Andersen, a Swedish archæologist, and friend of former days in Shansi, by his discovery of decorated pottery remains in widely-separated areas like Honan, Liao-ning, Manchuria and Kansu Provinces, and bones with inscriptions even cruder than those found on the An Yang site,

has rendered more credible the references in Chinese literature to the life and culture of the Hsia dynasty, dating from 2205 B.C. What perhaps is more important is that human skeletons found on these sites reveal similar features to those of modern Chinese, particularly of the northern regions.

Mention should also be made of the discovery in April 1929 at Chow Kan Tien, near Peking, of the skull of what is popularly known as the "Peking man". Archæologists relate this skull to the early part of the old stone age, showing that China was inhabited by man at least 500,000 years ago. They also credit the "Peking man" with articulate speech, the mastery of fire, and with some skill in stone work. By the study of the jaw and the teeth, they conclude that he is of the same family as the modern Chinese.¹

Therefore, while acknowledging that the earliest civilization of the Chinese now known to us shows distinct traces of Babylonian cross-fertilization, it is unnecessary to assume an alien origin for the Chinese people themselves.²

Summarizing the above, we may conclude that the claim of the Chinese to a civilization of at least four thousand years is fully justified.

This does not, of course, credit them with the oldest civilization known to man, for they were preceded in time by the Phoenicians, Babylonians, Egyptians and Indians. But no other race of people has persisted as an organized entity for so long.

Although on the evidence we may assume that the Chinese have not lived their life in complete isolation, it is also clear that geographical circumstances compelled her to develop her characteristic civilization largely apart from others. This fact affords us a unique opportunity to study a very ancient indigenous civilization with all its wealth of experience and culture, of political experiment and moral striving as it has developed through its long history.

¹ See *A Short History of Chinese Civilization* by Ts'u Chi, pp. 23-25.

² H. A. Giles and Ross agree in finding the Chinese "indigenous", while Lacouperie and Douglas affirm strong proofs of Babylonian connection. See John Ross, *The Origin of the Chinese People*, Preface vi.

2. Survival of the Chinese Civilization

A cursory glance over these four thousand years makes one wonder that the Chinese have survived as an entity for so long. When they first emerge in history, it is as one small tribe in the midst of many, some of which possessed a certain degree of culture. This original tribe, located near the southern elbow of the Yellow River, where it bends eastwards towards the China Sea, had to struggle for existence against the surrounding hordes. They had also to wage war with a hostile environment, for droughts and floods were frequent then as now. But by their virility, culture and military prowess, these early pioneers of the Chinese race not only survived, but succeeded in gradually extending their territory and influence, until by the third century B.C. they had brought practically the whole of what we know as modern China into one allegiance.¹

Some of the aboriginal tribes retained a measure at least of independence, for it is only within the last seven or eight hundred years that the Man, Miao, Chiang and the Lolo peoples have become part of the nation, and there are tribes on the Tibetan border to-day who are only just being brought under Chinese control.

The records of China's ancient history are full of civil strife.

From 722 to 221 B.C., during the latter half of the Chow dynasty, the struggle for the leadership of the feudal Princes was incessantly waged. All efforts to unite the nation were in vain. Confucius died, bewailing the failure of his pacific mission, in 479 B.C. Mencius, who also belongs to this period, thus describes the nature of those times: "Then there were no righteous wars, the bodies of the slain filling the ditches and the wilds."²

After the uniting of the Empire for a brief period (221-206 B.C.), the stability of the Imperial throne, and the safety of the national altars, was repeatedly imperilled. Revolts were frequent, and external aggression was almost continuous. The many changes of dynasty which subsequently

¹ See *China* by F. C. Jones, Chaps. 2 and 3, and *Outlines of Chinese History* by Li Ung Ping, pp. 59-60.

² Historical material from F. C. Jones and Li Ung Ping, op. cit.

occurred were all marked by devastating strife and widespread suffering.

For five great periods in its history China has been either practically or wholly subject to foreign domination. From the fall of the Han dynasty in A.D. 221 until the rise of the Sui dynasty in 589, it is one long story of Tartar domination and internal disunity. During the period of the Five dynasties (A.D. 907-960) the rulers were either Tanguts or Tartars. During the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1280) there were incessant irruptions of Tanguts, Tartars and Chitans, and for the last one hundred and fifty years of the dynasty the northern half of the country was completely occupied by the "Golden Tartars".

From 1280 to 1368 the whole of China, in addition to a great part of Europe, was brought under Mongol domination. An interlude of Chinese rule intervened in the Ming dynasty, 1368-1644, but internal revolts were numerous, and wars were waged with Mongolians and Japanese. In 1644, China was once more brought under the heel of an alien conqueror, the Manchus ruling the country from then until 1911. So that, during the seventeen centuries after the fall of the Han dynasty, China was under alien rule for over nine hundred years.

During the nineteenth century the struggle for survival continued, when China, under the Manchus, conservative, decadent but still proud, was forced into that clash of cultures and military and economic conflict with the Western powers and Japan, which resulted in the revolt of the Chinese against their alien "overlords" and the inauguration in 1911 of a Republican form of government. But it found the Chinese people hopelessly unprepared for such a drastic political change. The utmost "chaos" ensued—accompanied by twenty years of civil strife. This was followed by the conflict with Japan in 1931—in connection with the Manchurian "incident", and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. During this critical and pregnant period—the story of which is told in greater detail in the ensuing chapters—China has lost much of her territory, and great inroads have been made on her political, economic and cultural independence.

3. The Secret of Survival

But China has survived. Neither Tartars, Mongols nor Manchus, in spite of their prolonged political domination of China, nor the more recent aggressive policy of the Western and Japanese Powers, have been able to deprive her people of their racial and cultural identity, or to render them finally subservient to alien rule. The remembrance of this fact tended to induce a spirit of complacency and false confidence amongst certain sections of the populace, which was not only a hindrance to China's progress, but an actual menace to her existence as a political entity. It was thought that because China had survived for so long the so many "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune", that they need fear nothing the future might have in store. Evidently this was the attitude of Wang Ching Wei's audience at the National People's Conference held at Peking on April 25th, 1925, when he argued that the frequent subjection of China in times past to alien powers was due to and maintained solely by the superior military prowess of the enemy, and that China had survived because her erstwhile conquerors had not interfered with her economic life. He went on to affirm that what he feared most of all in the present was the "economic" stranglehold of Western Imperialism. But is the retention of economic independence the only factor that has contributed to China's survival?¹

Admittedly it is one factor. But other considerations should not be overlooked: her comparative isolation, geographically speaking, from the Western world in ancient times; the multitude and hardiness of her people, resulting from the cross-fertilization of the Chinese with alien tribes; the fact that the Chinese are mainly an agricultural people, "rooting" them in the land of their forefathers for countless generations; the persistence of one political structure from the third century B.C. until 1911, with an Emperor and Imperially appointed officials to Provincial administrative posts; the fact that she was able to produce the military leaders and martial spirit that was necessary to overthrow alien rule and re-establish Chinese control.

¹ *China and the Nations* by Wang Ching Wei, pp. 5-6.

Cultural elements are at least of equal importance with the above. The possession of a uniform written language current throughout the country for over two thousand years, in spite of divergences in the spoken dialects; her ancient and characteristic social organization with the family and clan as social units, and highly developed commercial and industrial guilds; the persistence of ancestor worship, linking the present in an unbroken chain with past generations: these have all tended to stability and survival.

But in addition, and possibly more important than any other single factor, I venture to suggest that it is due to some inherent moral force, born of the ancient idealism of Confucius, Mencius, Mo Tzu, Lao Tzu, and other great teachers of China, that this ancient people has not only survived, but has "absorbed all her conquerors".¹

In support of this it is important to note that at every crisis in her long history, Chinese leaders have sought to revive the soul of their people by recalling to their minds those moral principles which are embedded in their great cultural heritage.

4. *The Persistent Past*

Emerson says: "The use of history is to give value to the present hour and its duty."² It is a Confucian principle to "enquire of the past that you may know how to act in the present".

Confucius, in his efforts to pacify and unify the China of his day, and looking to past teachings and principles for guidance, spoke of himself as a "transmitter", for he said in regard to those who preceded him: "I will select and follow what is good in them, but reject what I consider to be bad." Time and again, with a view to remedying internal ills and disorders, and to revive the spirit of the people, the cultural heritage of China has been passed through the "crucible of criticism" by leaders of thought like Mo Tzu, Mencius, Hsün Tzu, Han Fei, Chu Hsi, and a host of others. In some instances Taoist, Buddhist and other alien elements have been mingled with the traditional Confucian teaching, so as to make it adaptable to the current

¹ *San Min Chu I*, p. 23.

² Correspondence in *The Times*, November 27th, 1941.

situation and retain its value for the present hour. All of which suggests that the Chinese mind has been far from inflexible through all these years.

Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, the modern Confucian reformer, in estimating afresh the political idealism of ancient China, writes: "How superficial of the youngsters, who gain a smattering of Western learning, to decry their ancestors as ignoramuses. Our problem to-day rather is how to apply the excellent teachings of our forefathers to present-day conditions, and to realize their lofty ideals."¹

Sun Yat Sen, in enunciating his Three Principles of the People, says: "The Mongols and Manchus were absorbed by the Chinese because we possessed higher moral standards. So coming to the root of the matter, if we want to restore our race's standing, besides uniting all into a great national body we must first recover our ancient morality, loyalty, filial devotion, kindness and love, faithfulness and justice, harmony and peace."²

Chiang Kai Shek, on 19th February, 1934, in initiating the New Life Movement, which has as its great motive and objective the revival of the spirit of the Chinese people in its moral, spiritual and social aspects, and which has contributed greatly to the rebirth of the whole nation, advocated a "revival of the virtues taught by the Chinese sages—propriety, justice, purity and a sense of shame".³ These virtues were first enunciated by Kuan Tzu, in the seventh century B.C., as the "pillars of the Chinese nation".

And Gunther Stein, correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, cabling from Ch'ung King 18th December, 1942, said: "Many Chinese are returning to the Classics, more than ever returning to Confucius, Mencius, Lao Tzu. This shows itself in more and more frequent quotations from the Classics in newspapers, speeches and political discussions."

Is it not then largely true that Confucius, by turning China to the past, has preserved Chinese civilization to the present?⁴ Certainly China to-day is still looking back and

¹ *Chinese Political Thought*, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 139.

² *San Min Chu I*, p. 125.

³ Hollington Tong, *Chiang Kai Shek*, p. 546.

⁴ See *China's Hour* by J. N. Smith, p. 42.

rediscovering her ancient heritage, those ethical principles which have value for the present hour, and on that firm and secure foundation, is striving to build a modern nation.

CHAPTER III

PHILOSOPHY

1. *Introduction*

It is said that Han Yü, the great scholar of the Tang dynasty, washed his hands with rose-water when opening the ancient books.¹ It is right, therefore, that we should approach this study of the ancient "foundations" of the Chinese nation, as found in their cultural heritage, in a reverent spirit. For the deepest and loftiest thoughts of China's philosophers are revealed in those old books, their volumes neatly assembled between wooden boards tied by tape, or in cardboard cases covered with bleached blue cloth and clipped with bone tabs, with their age-browned leaves pierced through and through by the silver fish (the Chinese book-worm), with their beautifully clear block-printed characters, their margins scored here and there by some wise-eyed, blue-gowned, bespectacled scholar of long ago, with the red circles of his admiring appreciation, or the black dots of his arrested attention.

Thanks to the Chinese reverence for the printed word, and their prodigious sense of history, a vast library, in which is stored the history, poetry, philosophy and experience of a great people, with a civilization of four thousand years, and a fascinating story of survival, is made ready to our hand.²

I was introduced to this ancient library by a Confucian scholar of seventy years of age, who had gained the second literary degree. He had taught Dr. Timothy Richard in the 1880's, and was eminently proud of the fact. He had a shrivelled old body, a toothless jaw, a face like crinkled parchment, and a wisp of a queue. The nails on two fingers of each hand were over an inch long. He had taken opium for over forty years, but had his very bright intervals, when

¹ *Makers of Cathay*, C. W. Allen, p. 98.

² See *The Growth of the Knowledge of China in the West* by Frederic D. Schulteis, published by College of Chinese Studies, Peiping, for an admirable and comprehensive survey of Western translations of Chinese literature.

refreshed by sonorous sips of tea. Then he would assure me that paper windows were warmer than glass in winter and cooler in summer; that Chinese gowns were more dignified and sensible than trousers; that Mo Ti (fifth century B.C.) had taught the love of God and that men should love one another long before Christ, and in addition had invented the aeroplane! This old scholar could not be surprised. To him there was "no new thing under the sun". Every modern invention had its Chinese forerunner, every political problem its ancient precedent. There was no world situation for which Chinese philosophy had no ready-made solution, no human problem for which a "lip-tip phrase" had not the remedy. All the wisdom of the world is concentrated in Chinese proverbs! He was convinced that all that was worth knowing was to be found within the four books and five classics of the orthodox Confucian School. But, of course, if one wished to be regarded as widely read, there were the twenty-four Dynastic Histories and the forty-eight Philosophers. If one's taste were for lighter reading, why not peruse the *Three Kingdoms*, the *Shui Hu Ch'u'an* (*All Men are Brothers*¹), or the *Dream of the Red Chamber*? If one were interested in ghost stories, then the *Liao Chai* (*Dreams from a Chinese Studio*²) could be enjoyed, or in modern political philosophy, the *Sacred Edict of K'ang Hsi*! He was an enlightening, provocative teacher. During the thirty years of my residence in China I was privileged to have a succession of Chinese teachers, some like Mr. Yang above, of the very old school; others of a more hybrid character, possessing a smattering of Western knowledge as well as of Chinese classical literature; others, again, with a modern University education, acquired either in China or abroad, but deeply versed in Chinese lore.

One outcome of all this is that I am now about to inflict upon you a chapter on Chinese Philosophy—a comprehensive term which embraces religion, ethics and political ideals. Arthur Waley has said that "in mind as in body the Chinese were for the most part torpid mainlanders. . . . To most Europeans the momentary flash of Athenian questioning will seem worth more than all the centuries of

¹ Translated and published with this title by Pearl Buck.

² Translated in part by H. A. Giles (see his *History of Chinese Literature*, pp. 338-354) with this title.

Chinese assent.¹ This is a statement which seems to me to merit discussion. It is true that the tendency of the Chinese philosophers is to keep their feet on the ground, and that they betray a certain unreadiness to embark on airy flights of imagination or voyages of mystical speculation. It is true their thinking in general is more practical than mystical in character, although the latter element is not entirely absent, and that it is inspired by an eminently reasonable spirit. Nevertheless, one is inclined to question whether "torpid" is the right epithet to apply to those ancient philosophers, or "assent" the right description of their centuries of experimental thinking. For although it is true that there have been long periods when the Chinese mind seemed sluggish and somnolent, there have also been considerable intervals of great mental activity and enterprise, for instance during the latter half of the Chow dynasty (sixth to third centuries B.C.) and in the Sung dynasty (tenth to twelfth centuries A.D.).

Confucius himself adopted a critical attitude towards the teaching of the past. The philosophy of Mencius differs in many respects from that of his great predecessor. And what of his reference to Mo Ti, the Apostle of Universal Love, and Yang Chu, the Hedonist, whose "teachings", in his own words, "filled the world", and which were "anathema" to him? Chuang Tzu, or some early and prominent exponent of the Taoist philosophy, which was itself a very influential competitor of Confucianism for the winning of the Chinese mind, mentioned that there were "a hundred schools of thought" in his day (third century B.C.). It is evident that the orthodox Confucian tradition was constantly under fire and in need of defence, and that while this gave rise on the one hand to many syncretic schools of thought whose aim was mainly to conserve the older Confucian teaching and relate it to alien and seemingly antagonistic systems then current, yet it led as well to the rise of numerous heretical schools whose teachings deviated considerably from the traditional. In particular, controversy raged furiously concerning such great questions as the constitution of the cosmos, the nature of man, and the character and function of government. The Chinese have not burned their heretics,

¹ 170 Chinese Poems, Introduction, p. 3.

although the first emperor is reputed to have buried considerable numbers alive, but they have not infrequently burned their books, or wooden blocks (from which they could be printed), in the heat of their quarrels.

Modern Chinese thinkers, as well as a number of Western sinologists, are calling attention to various "leaps in the dark" in the realms of natural science and philosophy which were taken by ancient Chinese thinkers. They are, for instance, professing to discover in the commentaries of the *Book of Changes*, which date to the fourth century B.C., a theory of evolution which is strikingly modern.¹ Then Motzu's inference that "the will of God is characterized by love of all without distinction" is, at least for the fourth century B.C., an enterprising adventure of the human mind. Some have even suggested that Mencius, by his assertion that "the principle of advantage manifested in the causes of things", was anticipating in some form Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest.² The very ancient dualistic theory of the universe, known as "Yin Yang", as expounded and developed by Chu Hsi and his school in the Sung dynasty, seems very modern in its conceptions of "force", "matter" and "ether".³

Admittedly many of these apparent anticipations of modern discoveries represent shrewd guesses rather than the results of scientifically conducted experiments. Nevertheless, just as we learn more of Chinese history and are able to credit the Chinese people with a more adventurous spirit in their geographical voyagings than was hitherto supposed, so I think as we become more conversant with their literature and philosophy we may find amongst them explorers in the realm of thought whose discoveries will make "centuries of Chinese assent" at least as worthy of the attention of European scholars as "the momentary flash of Athenian questioning". With these preliminary

¹ *Political Philosophy of Confucianism*, L. S. Hsü, pp. 220-231, where he claims that "the theory of Evolution is the foundation of Confucian political and social philosophy . . . and that Evolution, according to the *Book of Changes*, consists of three processes, viz., the process of transmutation, of phenomenal imitation, of rational judgment".

² *The Lore of Cathay*, W. A. P. Martin, p. 32.

³ *The Lore of Cathay*, W. A. P. Martin, pp. 37, 38-43. See also J. P. Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, under Energy and Ether.

considerations in mind, let us consider the Chinese view of the universe.

2. *Government of the World*

The schools of philosophy in China are numerous and comprise a great variety and comprehensive range of thought. But the Romantic-Naturalism of the Taoists, the religio-ethico-political school of Confucianism, the religious utilitarianism of Mo Tzu, the Hedonism of Yang Chu, the legalism of Han Fei, and the intuitionism of Wang Yang Ming all have, as the basis of their thought, the ethical character of the Cosmos,¹ which is regarded as furnishing the model for human conduct and the norm of all social relationships and government.

The Chinese have somehow reached the conclusion that this universe is not "crazy" but is governed by intelligent, benevolent and just forces. We are not concerned at the moment as to whether these forces should be interpreted in personal or impersonal terms. But what seems certain is that Chinese thought in general regards the Cosmos as evincing moral qualities, and as working towards a moral goal.

We cannot be sure of the method whereby they attained to this conception, but assume that in all probability it was by an intelligent reading of the Books of Nature and History and by profound study of their own hearts.

It is a principle of Chinese philosophy that "Heaven does not speak". Thinkers found, however, by observing the stars in their courses, the regular succession of the seasons, and in timely rain and fruitful harvests, evidence of the wise and benevolent character of the whole natural order.

Even aberrations from the beneficent course of nature, such as floods, droughts, earthquakes, plagues, and other frequent natural calamities, did not uproot or seriously disturb the belief of the Chinese people in the beneficence of the natural order. It is true that at times they complained to "unpitiful" Heaven. But as far as I know, only Lao Tzu amongst the philosophers spoke of Heaven and

¹ See Y. P. Mei, *Mo Tzu, Rival of Confucius*, pp. 145-162, and Lyman Cady, *Wang Yang Ming's Intuitive Knowledge*, especially pp. 42-44.

Earth as not benevolent,¹ and in my opinion that should be interpreted as applying only to a particular Confucian conception of benevolence to which he was opposed.

The common interpretation of such catastrophes as are referred to above was that they were the expression of Heaven's wrath against immoral conduct or misgovern-
ment by men, and that they in no way denied the benevo-
lent purpose which was behind all.

Wang An Shih of the Sung dynasty has, it seems to me, correctly given the common view of this matter in one of his essays, from which the following is taken: "Nature in the heavenly sphere is not without faults, as witness irregularities in the seasons, eclipses, etc. Nature in the earthly sphere also has its faults—earthquakes, floods, desiccation, and the like. Nevertheless heaven and earth continue to cover and support all things, being unhindered by such difficulties from so doing. That is because nature possesses the capacity of reverting to the normal."²

In earlier philosophical books Heaven and Earth are described as the "parents of the people", and it is that conception which has survived. Mo Tzu, of the fourth century B.C., attributed to the will of Heaven, as he conceived it, "the impartial love of all" as its great attribute.³ Chu Hsi and his school of the twelfth century A.D. affirmed that the first and chief attribute of the cosmic principle was love or benevolence.⁴

The Chinese people are often termed fatalistic, but their fatalism is really "born of faith"⁵ as they are content to leave the issue of events, however unfavourable or disadvantageous they seem to be at the time, to the power in control of the world, on the assumption that in the end everything will work out all right. A striking illustration of this came under my notice during an outbreak of severe plague. Arriving at one village in the hills we found that thirty-six out of thirty-seven people had succumbed, the only survivor being a boy of sixteen. We put him in a courtyard by himself and made every arrangement for his

¹ *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter V.

² Author's *Wang An Shih*, Vol. II, p. 327.

³ Author's *Mo Ti, a Chinese Heretic*, and Y. P. Mei, op. cit., p. 149.

⁴ J. P. Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, p. 319.

⁵ H. B. Rattenbury.

food and other necessaries, telling him that for the time being he must look after himself. The following morning early as we went to see how he was getting on, we were met by an elderly woman, who had come from an adjacent village, hobbling up the street. She was making for the door of the house in which we had isolated the suspect. We endeavoured to prevent her entering, telling her it meant certain death. She replied: "This boy is my grandson. I must do my duty by him. If the Old Man in Heaven demands my life, so be it. If He wishes me to survive, so be it. He knows. Trust Him!" It is related of Confucius that when he was in peril from his enemies and was warned by his disciples to escape, he said, "Heaven's will is being fulfilled in me. What can the men of Kuang do to me?"

It will be evident from all this that the Chinese conception of the Ruling Power in the universe is that it is wise and benevolent.

The second idea which the Chinese have gained of the Power at the heart of things is that it is just. If William James is correct in his assumption that "all philosophers have conceived of the world after the analogy of some particular feature of it which has particularly captivated their attention",¹ then I would say the Chinese philosophers have been particularly captivated by the justice of the Sovereign Power in the world. Believing in its wisdom and benevolence, they are specially convinced of its justice, echoing in this the words of Abraham, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

And it was to history that they looked for evidence of the moral government of the world.

The purpose which Confucius had in mind when compiling the *Book of History* was to demonstrate by the rise and fall of preceding dynasties, the operation of the law enunciated by Mencius that "he who obeys Heaven is preserved, while he who disobeys Heaven is lost". Reference has also already been made to the Chinese belief that unworthy or unfaithful rulers would be dethroned. This illustrates their faith in the just government of the world, and their conviction that "Righteousness exalteth a nation".

¹ *The Pluralistic Universe*, p. 8, quoted by Feng Yü Lan. *Comparative Study of Life Ideals*, p. 4.

One of the most frequently quoted proverbs is "Good gains a good reward, evil an evil recompense".

Normally, the Chinese expect to receive this good reward or evil recompense during their lifetime. For all who suffer physically or mentally, or are deprived of their property or their liberty, who are poor, or in any other way disabled, are regarded as suffering the just penalty of their sin. I remember an official of the Chinese Government speaking of the prisoners of the local gaol and the patients in the Mission Hospital as being alike sinners.

An interesting illustration of one aspect of this idea came under my notice recently. A villager had been condemned to death along with fifteen of his associates by the Japanese for obstructing their advance. They were all bound, made to kneel down, and Japanese soldiers began to shoot them with revolvers behind the ear. Eleven were shot in succession; my informant was the twelfth. But at that point an irruption of Chinese guerrillas distracted the attention of his would-be executioners, and he escaped. He attributed this to secret virtue; by which he meant either some kind deed which he had done, but of which he was not cognizant, or some good deed performed by his ancestors which had not been rewarded in the present life.

In the same way people who cannot explain their sufferings attribute them to the sins of their ancestors for which they were not penalized while living.

The more superstitious among the people project all this into the unseen world, either expecting to reap the reward of a good life in the bliss of the Western Heaven, or in the long sleep of Nirvana, or to be recompensed for their evil deeds in Taoist hells, or by being born again in some lower form of existence.

Unusual happenings in the world of nature, like eclipses of the sun and moon, the appearance of comets, or unusual portents in the sky, are interpreted as Heaven's warnings that men should amend their ways, and when natural calamities occur for which they can find no other explanation, these are regarded as the punishment of the righteous Ruler.

3. *Impersonal or Personal Rule*

Is there any justification for attributing "personality" to

this Loving and Righteous Power which governs the universe, i.e. from the standpoint of Chinese philosophy?

As far as the ancient classical point of view is concerned, the opinion of a modern Confucian scholar, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, may be regarded as the authentic answer to this question. He writes: "When recorded history began, the conception of a Supreme Being, known as God, Heaven, or Shang-Ti (the Emperor on High), was already becoming 'positive', and that 'in ancient times God was thought of as having purpose and personality with the direct supervision of all political affairs'. He terms these thoughts of the ancient Chinese 'simple and crude', and considers that the literary references of the Shang and Chow dynasties, ranging in date from the eighteenth to the sixth century B.C., 'read exactly like Deuteronomy'."¹

In support of this we might quote a few of the admittedly scattered references occurring in the classical books which permit and even seem to demand a "personal" interpretation. Some of these refer to Heaven, or the Ruler, or the Supreme Ruler, all of which are generally considered to be synonyms for the Supreme Being.

In these quotations the Supreme Power is regarded as "conferring on the people a moral sense"; as "being benevolent"; as "surveying the lower world in majesty"; as "being the Great Parent of the People"; as "examining into the condition of the people"; as "seeking someone to confer the blessings of order and peace upon them"; as "pitying the people"; as "being impartial"; as "punishing the guilty"; as "providing them with rulers and teachers". It is further significant that in later times great thinkers like Mo Tzu apparently assumed the personality of the Supreme Being, in describing the Will of Heaven as impartial love.

Wang An Shih, of the Sung dynasty (eleventh century A.D.), defines the generic term for God (Shen) as a "Spiritual Being 'straining' to make himself known to men".

Material vestiges of this ancient ethical-monotheism still remain. One of the most thrilling experiences of my missionary life was to visit Mount T'ai in Shantung. Accompanied by hundreds of Chinese pilgrims, many of them elderly women with bound feet, we toiled up the wind-

¹ *Chinese Political Thought*, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, pp. 144-148.

ing stone road with its six thousand two hundred steps, passing by pines planted, so it is said, over a thousand years ago, pausing a while to read centuries old inscriptions chiselled out of the solid rock, many of them by Imperial command, with some of more recent date bearing the seal of the "Christian" General Feng Yü Hsiang. On and up we went through "Heaven's Gate" to the windswept summit. Here, ironically enough, in the courtyard of a temple of the Taoist Jade Emperor, surrounded by an octagonal wall, as though to preserve it from contamination, is the barren peak of the mountain where, in the year 2278 B.C., the Emperor Shun, in the course of one of his Imperial tours of inspection, "presented a burnt offering to Heaven and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers".

In the southern precincts of Peiping stands the world-famous Altar of Heaven, the centre of this ancient Imperial worship from A.D. 1421. Here, on the topmost tier of this triple-terraced altar of white marble, the Emperors of China ("Son of Heaven"), acting as the High Priest of their people, annually rendered homage to the Supreme Ruler. Here, under the open canopy of the blue-vaulted Heaven, without any image, but to the accompaniment of sacred music and dancing, the reading of prayers and the sacrifice of a red bull and valuable silks, the earthly ruler worshipped the King of kings, together with his ancestors of the Imperial line.

Now, alas, this ceremony has been discontinued. The last occasion on which it was performed was in 1916, when Yuan Shih K'ai, then the President of the Republic, in connection with his ill-fated attempt to restore the monarchy, proceeded to this old altar to offer the customary rites. Although this worship was the sole prerogative of the Emperor, it has exerted considerable influence on the life of the Chinese people, particularly the scholars and officials. It must also be remembered that every village had its scholar who was acquainted with the literature in which these ancient ideas are found, and that through them they were conveyed to the common people. This largely accounts for the popular Chinese conception that "it is incumbent upon all to be good and to do good, lest the punishment of the Righteous Judge should fall upon them and the nation".

Concurrently with this ancient monotheism there arose in the early years of the Chow dynasty (1122 B.C. and on), a dualistic conception of Heaven and Earth as the supreme forces in nature, the existence and control of all things being ascribed to their mutual interaction. Very early, however, King Wu refers to Heaven as the Universal Father, and to Earth as the Universal Mother. So in this paternal form these powers of nature began to be worshipped, "Heaven being considered just and without selfishness, overspreading the beautiful and the ugly. Earth was also similarly regarded as supporting both the great and the small." We see, therefore, that heaven and earth were conceived of as discharging their functions equitably and impartially, and so entitled to the homage of all.

Confucius seems to have approved of this personalized dualism, for he wrote: "By sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, service is rendered to God." I have emphasized this because the worship of Heaven and Earth is the most popular of the higher forms of religion known to the common people. It still survives. Altars to Mother Earth are found on the north side of every city and county town, while in the field of every peasant is found a small shrine or tablet to the Spirit of the Earth. In the homes of the people, at every crisis in their personal or family lives, such as birth, marriage and death, a ceremony takes place which is akin to worship of the Spirits of Heaven and of Earth. So the people of China have for countless ages, vaguely perhaps and largely unconsciously, rendered homage to "the lofty One that inhabiteth eternity".

One other dualistic idea, commonly supposed to be materialistic in character, must be noted. This is known as the Yin-Yang theory, one of China's earliest "shrewd guesses" at the nature and method of "Creation".

This theory appears first in literature in the oldest known Chinese book, *The Classic of Change*, and was later expounded by a succession of versatile and brilliant thinkers. But it was not fully developed until the times of the Sung dynasty, when Chu Hsi (died A.D. 1200) and his famous Neo-Confucian School formulated a philosophy which became the standard of orthodoxy and remained so until comparatively recent times. An exposition of the diagram which symbolizes the Yin-Yang philosophy may be of

interest. This is in the form of a circle, divided into two halves in the following manner:  illustrating the theory that all things, and all changes in the natural order as well as in human affairs, owe their origin to the interaction of two mutually distinct principles, which are at the same time mutually dependent. These are male and female, positive and negative, light and darkness, strength and weakness, activity and inactivity, etc. The interdependence and interaction of both are represented by the irregular line of division and the presence of a black dot in the white half, and a white dot in the black half. Observe, however, that these two principles, in their turn, originate from and inhere in a prior principle, known as the Great Ultimate (T'ai Chi, or T'ai I), represented by the all-inclusive circle, so that, thinking of the emblem alone, we may infer that room is left for a theistic view of Creation.

This theory, too, regards "matter" as the medium in which "spirit" operates, so we may also draw the conclusion that Chu Hsi's philosophy is not entirely materialistic. Is it capable of a "personal" interpretation? Dr. J. P. Bruce regards the T'ai Chi, or Supreme Ultimate of this philosophy, as equivalent to the ancient classical conception of Heaven, and goes on to say that as the main objective of Chu Hsi was to uphold the sanctity of Confucian teaching, his opinions would on that ground alone permit of a personal interpretation. He adduces further evidence to show that Chu Hsi not only does not deny but quite definitely affirms the personality of the Supreme Ultimate.¹ I remember discussing this very point with my first Chinese teacher. When I asked him whether Chu Hsi's interpretation of Heaven ruled out the idea of a personal creator, he replied: "Oh, no. Chu Hsi affirmed that above and behind Heaven there must be a ruler." He then gave me the following quotation from Chu Hsi's works: "This superior power is not a being like a man, who, as judge, lives in heaven, yet it is necessary that such a ruler exist. . . . Now, should anybody pretend that in heaven there is a man who there judges the sinners and evil-doers, this could not be maintained. But is it not possible that there should be no ruler at all?"²

¹ J. P. Bruce, op. cit., pp. 297-314.

² Chu Hsi's Works, Book 49, 25. See Bruce, op. cit., p. 296.

So it would seem that this great moulder of modern Confucianism was unable to rule out altogether the possibility of a Personal Creator and Lord of the Universe. But eventually, and doubtless somewhat wistfully, he seems to have relapsed into agnosticism, for he also wrote: "We do not know God; further, we cannot know whether there is a God or not. What we see and feel we know. All beyond is without proof. We do know our duty to man in our various relationships. Its due performance is enough for any man, and it is all that can be rationally expected of him."¹

This is the conventional Confucian position. Such theories are, of course, beyond the understanding of the common people, although the emblem of the Yin-Yang theory is found over the doors of the medicine shops in their villages. Lao Tien Yeh, or the Old Man of Heaven, is the one upon whom they call, in association with their mother, when in difficulties or trouble, and who seems to play the part of a Personal Providence in their lives.

It is evident from the above that the Chinese have from time immemorial believed in a Supreme Power at the heart of the universe, and that they have been vaguely conscious of its personal character, wistfully hoping indeed that so it might prove to be a Personal God, and that this Power is characterized by Love, Righteousness, Consideration and Wisdom. This, while it has been a great asset in their national life, yet points to a deep need. For even in its highest reaches and most intimate conceptions there is lacking the loftiness, warmth and inspiration of the Christian Revelation.

4. *Man and the Universe*

Another fundamental principle of Chinese philosophy is that one law pervades the Cosmos, of which man is regarded as an integral part. From this two deductions are made—(i) that man should live his life in harmony with the Cosmos conceived in ethical terms; (ii) that he is capable of doing so.

First then we will consider the principle of "Harmony",

¹ As translated by Ross, *Original Religions of China*, p. 66.

which seems to have some kinship with more modern theories of "correspondence with environment".

In Chinese literature the examples of the rulers, Yao and Shun, are frequently quoted because they found in Heaven their models, and sought to pattern their lives and public administration upon the Will of Heaven as they conceived it. Hu Shih says in regard to the Chinese attitude in general that "the mediæval religions taught men to contemplate nature, to be in harmony with it, and to obey it". On this basis the main purpose of man's existence, and the goal of his striving, is to attain to harmony with the universe, as though the Chinese had heard a Divine voice saying to them: "Make all things after the pattern shown to you in the Cosmos." Christ said: "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect." But Chinese Philosophy, unaware of that unique revelation, could only aver that man ought to imitate nature.

The Taoists, represented by Chuang Tzu particularly, interpreted this as a call to man to follow his natural bent, and make of life "a happy excursion in the garden of nature", assuming that nature was good, and that man, as nature's child, was also good. So all that was necessary was for man to revert to his natural state, and all would be well with him and human society.

But to the Confucian mind this was tantamount to a return to the jungle, conduced not to order and harmony but confusion and strife. But having noted in passing this important divergence of view between these two great schools, we must enquire into the second point and see whether, in the thought of the Chinese, it is possible for man to conform to the austere and lofty ethical standard which they found in the universe about them.

5. The Nature of Man

The question of the quality of human nature has been a subject most keenly debated by Chinese thinkers. The prevailing conception, which is in line with the Confucian tradition, is that man is essentially good. The first sentences of the Three Character Classic, studied in former times by every Chinese schoolboy, reads: "Men are essentially good

at birth. They vary little in nature, but differences emerge as they form their habits."¹

It should be noted that Confucius nowhere positively asserts that human nature is either good or bad.

Tzu Ssu, the grandson of Confucius, in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, seems to have been the earliest Chinese writer to affirm "that all men at birth are endowed with a nature that is perfectly good, and that virtue consists in following one's nature implicitly".²

Mencius is likewise equally unambiguous and asserts: "Man's nature, as received at birth from Heaven, is positively good."

The theory of Mencius has remained the Classic Chinese conception. He compared the nature of man to good seed, which contains all the germs of moral excellence, but which can only be fully developed in circumstances congenial to its nature. Benevolence, justice, propriety and wisdom belong to the original nature of man, as his hands and feet belong to his body. So that no man is true to himself who says he cannot live the virtuous life. "Humanity (love) is man's resting-place and justice his path." Mencius goes on to affirm that by following one's nature man could be perfect as heaven itself, and that "the root of the cardinal virtues is in the heart. He who understands his nature knows heaven."

He would not say, however, that human nature is incapable of evil. For "just as water, by striking it with the hand, can be made to splash upwards over one's head, which is contrary to its nature, so," he argues, "although man may do evil, it is contrary to his nature to do so."

How then does evil arise? He suggests two possible sources: Firstly because of neglect in guarding and preserving his natural goodness; and secondly because of external circumstances which may prevent the proper development of his original good nature. After sowing, the good or bad crop depends upon the care or neglect of the seed, or upon the nature of the ground, or again upon its

¹ Found also in *Analects* XVII, 2.

² Griffith John, "Ethics of the Chinese, with special reference to the Doctrine of Human Nature and Sin", *Journal of North China Branch of R.A.S.*, Vol. II, No. 1, September 1860, to which I am indebted for much of the material in this section.

receiving too much or too little rain.

Mencius, although he affirmed that all men have the capacity to be Yaos and Shuns, i.e. paragons of virtue, however had to admit at the same time that few men were perfect. He also said: "It is possible for men to lose their child-heart."

Hsun Tzu, of the third century B.C., on the other hand, asserted that man's nature is bad, and that any goodness that may be found in him is artificial. "In man's heart at birth are found love of gain, envy, hatred, lust of eye and ear." By following his nature contentions and strife arise and man relapses into savagery. Robberies, murders, confusion, neglect of duty, follow as the shadow the substance. Man's nature is like a crooked stick which must be softened by heat before it can be made straight, or like a blunt knife which must be ground if it is to do its work effectively. It is, therefore, essential that teachers and laws should be provided for men, and that they be instructed in the whole moral code if they are not to descend to moral corruption and ruin.

Hsun Tzu, therefore, would affirm that goodness is unnatural to man and that man is really selfish at heart. He says: "The very fact that men desire to be virtuous is proof that they do not naturally possess virtue, on the principle of those who are deformed desiring to be beautiful, and of those who are poor in their desire to be rich." He would admit that moral education might encourage men to become good, but in his opinion some men cannot be induced to become so. To him they are capable of relapsing into evil, or of becoming good, according to their will. The good man will exercise restraint, the bad man will let himself go.

Yang Tzu (A.D. 1-12) felt that there was truth in both these theories, and that neither was altogether to be rejected. The moral nature of man, according to Mencius, haunts him like Socrates' "daimon", or Thompson's "Hound of Heaven". Yang Tzu, on the other hand, detects in man a bias towards evil, and asserts that nothing but the most extreme exertion and continued perseverance will ensure moral progress. He says: "Human nature is capable of becoming either good or bad. The differences in men's character arise because some cultivate the good side of their

nature and others the bad, and therefore become either good or bad accordingly."

Chu Hsi attempts to harmonize all these apparently conflicting views. He remains, however, in the true Confucian tradition, in holding by the innate goodness of human nature. According to him, man's nature is a compound of two principles, each being essential to the other. One, the "immaterial" entity, is good, and this is the law of his being. The other, the "material" principle in man, through which the "immaterial" expresses itself, is found, on analysis, to possess opaque and clear elements. To his mind, on the relative "opaqueness" or "clearness" of this "material" medium, as received at birth, the ultimate character of man depends.¹

This theory, based as it is on the principle that human nature is not essentially evil, but may become evil, has largely held the field since Chu Hsi's day.

Wang An Shih, of the Sung dynasty, has written several essays on this subject. First of all, he distinguishes between the "nature" as such, and the "disposition", asserting that the former gives birth to the latter. He says further that it is only after the disposition has begun to function that good and evil may be distinguished, and that man's moral responsibility begins. Wang An Shih held that of the theories above propounded, Yang Tzu is nearest the mark. Yet he thinks that he and all the others err in confusing the nature and conduct, as though they were something inseparable. He himself held that the "disposition" comes between the "nature" and the "conduct". To him human nature is good, but man's disposition may be good or evil, according to the way, right or wrong, in which his emotions are directed, which is the same thing as saying that the "will" is the source of good or evil. He writes: "I believe that an evil man, if he desires to do good, who acts upon his desire, may become good."² This finds further illustration in another essay on "The Possibility of Repentance". In this he says that just as the natural order has its defects, or faults, but the work of nature continues to be good on the whole in spite of that,

¹ J. P. Bruce, *Philosophy of Human Nature* by Chu Hsi, and summarized in *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, by same author, pp. 187-231.

² Author's *Wang An Shih*, pp. 319-335.

by demonstrating its capacity to revert to the normal, so man can redeem his faults. And just as one who, recovering some money he had lost, could say that the money was his all the time, so man who for the time being loses his goodness and recovers it by repentance, is entitled to say that this is due to the capacity of his own nature to return to the normal.¹

Second thoughts on all these theories suggest that however varied and mutually opposed they seem to be, they are not so divergent as appears at first sight. It is evident that by failing to observe the Confucian principle of "making their terms mean what they seemed to mean" confusion resulted. In my humble opinion, much "breath" and Chinese ink and paper could have been saved, if all had perceived and said that what they were discussing was "human nature" in its *capacity* for goodness or evil, rather than human nature itself, as essentially good or bad. On that basis, all schools could have agreed that "education" is necessary if man is to be good and that environment and even heredity count.

If we regard the "child-heart" of Mencius as our native innocence, it is logical to argue that to "keep the child-heart" involves strenuous effort, continuous care and constant education, if the capacity for goodness which is innate in human nature is to be brought to its "full flower".²

But at least it will be evident from what has been written that the Chinese have a very lofty conception of the nature of man. To them he is a morally responsible being, innately good, capable of the highest moral attainments and of descending to the deepest depths of degradation. Men differ in their moral attainment according to the way they train their wills. Repentance will restore them to their original condition. There is no Gospel here, except that of the human will. But the Chinese assertion of this dignity of human nature accounts for their characteristic respect for personality which, in its turn, is basic to their whole social philosophy. And so we are brought to consider another aspect of their thought.

¹ Author's *Wang An Shih*, p. 328.

² Suggested by E. R. Hughes.

6. *An Ordered World*

Chinese philosophers have discussed not only the moral government of the universe, and its expression in the nature of man—they have concerned themselves also with the way in which these relate to government and all social relationships.

Briefly stated, their theory of Government is that the control should be in the hands of virtuous men.

We have assumed a system of tribal rule as the earliest form of government in China, and shown that in this the chieftain was chosen on the grounds of his own personal character, and that later, as the scope of the national life extended, the King, or ruler, was conceived of as having been given his appointment by Heaven—on account of his virtue and wisdom.

But moral character in the Ruler, or Rulers, was not only the secret of successful administration within the state. It was, too, the secret of Universal Concord and Peace. For the influence of such morally developed personalities as were in authority was conceived to be so great that the people generally would be inspired and renovated, and families would dwell together in harmony; not only would there be efficient government within the state, but peace would be ensured throughout the world. This is the main thesis of one of China's Classics of Government, *The Great Learning*.¹ So Chinese philosophy not only illustrates the great truth that "Righteousness exalteth a nation"; it expresses also at least the possibility that the whole world would be so influenced by such an example, proffered by the people of one nation, as to follow its lead. In the Chinese mind, "All must be brethren within the four seas" when the right men are in power, and when the "family" principle is extended to the whole world.

"Mutual consideration" is another Chinese social principle, and this tends towards the creation of a society that is worth living in.

When Confucius was asked if there was one principle running right through his political system, he said: "Yes,

¹ See E. R. Hughes, *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times*, pp. 88-95, and *The Great Learning and the Mean in Action*.

it's the one word 與 (Shu—Reciprocity), which being interpreted means, "treat others as you would like them to treat you,"¹ and in particular implies that one should not wait for others to take the initiative. Rather should one anticipate any action of theirs by meting out to them considerate, fair and humane treatment. Here, it was thought, was the one way for nations as well as individuals to live at peace with one another. Chinese philosophers have consistently advocated the supreme influence of Moral Force. John Hind Smith has well said: "Mere power digs its own deep grave." But "power linked with love begets new life".² Note, too, that the Chinese have always linked Love and Righteousness together. Chinese Philosophy has thus plotted the whole course of history, from the original state of nature, through the period of "small tranquillity" (Hsiao Kang), summarized by one writer as "the days in which we live, the period of nationalism and balance of power, of private property and class adjustment, to the period of Great Community (Ta Tung) of Universal Brotherhood and Co-operation."³ In a word, to the Parliament of Man, and the Federation of the World. If the Chinese have done nothing more than keep these ideals before mankind for so long, they have rendered a contribution of great importance.

Alfred Szu has said: "The Chinese development of China must make for peace, if only because the whole of Chinese culture rests in the power and effect of moral force."⁴

Sun Yat Sen dreamt of an international order founded on right relations. He was a Christian, lived in faith and died in faith. Is he, and his kind, not in the logical Confucian succession, re-interpreting their ancient philosophical heritage in the light of existing circumstances?

¹ See note on p. 15, also termed "The Measuring Square."

² J. H. Smith, op. cit., p. 62.

³ Based on *Book of Rites*, Chapter 9, as summarized by L. S. Hsü, op. cit., pp. 247-248.

⁴ Saunders, *Heritage of Asia*, pp. 55-56.

PART II

TRANSITION: CONCEPTION OF THE NATION



CHAPTER IV WESTERN IMPACT

1. East and West Meet

IN the foregoing chapters we have endeavoured to tell the story of the rise and progress of the Chinese people and the development of their characteristic civilization through all the vicissitudes of four thousand years of recorded history.

We have tried to show that their philosophy of life, particularly the ethical aspect of it, and their belief in the potency of "moral" influence, have contributed greatly to their survival as a people, and to the preservation of their racial and cultural identity.

It must now be observed, however, that neither these things, nor the maintenance of a uniform and "centralized" type of government, nor the currency of one written language for the whole country for over two thousand years, sufficed to weld the people into that "Political Unity" which Latourette aptly describes as "the centuries-old dream of all inheritors of Chinese culture".¹

In this and succeeding sections of the book, we are to consider the transformation of this ancient civilization into a modern nation, and we must begin by tracing in outline the main events of a transition period in Chinese history, namely, the nineteenth century. For it was during this period that the superstructure of Ancient China crumbled into decay, and that Modern China began to assume shape in the midst of the ruins, rising, however, on the old spiritual foundations.

Many factors might be mentioned as having contributed to this transformation. But it is generally acknowledged that by far the most important of these is the impact of the West upon the East in the century under review.

¹ *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, Vol. II, p. 339.

The reader will have gathered from what has been written already that China had not lived her ancient life in complete isolation from the West.

Evidence of Babylonian influence upon the earliest known Chinese religion and astronomy: the presence in the far west of China of tribes of Jewish descent, who are reliably reputed to have migrated there in the fifth century B.C.:¹ the introduction of Buddhism by monks from India about the time of Christ: the regular traffic in silk over the great Western trade routes, which linked China with Syria, Greece and possibly Rome, in the Han dynasty, prior to A.D. 221: the recorded visit of a Roman Ambassador, sent by Diocletian, to the Chinese court A.D. 284: the journeys of Chinese pilgrims to India and Ceylon in search of Buddhist Scriptures, like that of Yen Ch'ang (334), Fa Hsien (399-414), Sung Yun (518): and the setting up of trading posts by Arabs at Canton, Ningpo and Hangchow in the first half of the sixth century: Buddhist images and sculptures found in the rock caves at Yun Kang in Shansi, at Lung Men in Honan, and near Ts'ing Chow and Tsinan in Shantung, bearing distinct traces of Greek design and belonging to the fifth century, all witness to these very early contacts between China and the Western world.²

During the Tang dynasty (in the seventh century), Nestorians from Syria, Mohammedans from Arabia, Manicheans, and representatives of other religions from Persia, were welcomed at the Chinese court, then located at Sianfu, Shensi.³

A colony of Jews was established at Kaifeng (Honan) in the eleventh century.⁴ In the Mongol dynasty (1278-1367), in the times of Khublai and Ghengis Khan, European merchants, like the Polos from Venice, received a royal welcome at the capital of Cambulac (now Peiping), one of them, the famous Marco Polo, serving as a Government official for many years. Franciscan monks were also resident and influential at the Mongol court, from which embassies were sent to the Pope of Rome, two of which—the by now famous monks of Khublai Khan—reached Syria,

¹ T. Torrance, *China's First Missionaries*, p. 19.

² F. S. Drake, unpublished manuscripts.

³ Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 207, 210.

⁴ Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 251.

and one went to Rome and France, where he administered Communion to the English King, Edward I.¹

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Magellan made their epoch-making voyages of discovery, Spanish and Portuguese merchants inaugurated a new age of expansion to the East. The first Portuguese arrived at Macao in 1517. Later on Cossacks and Russians, Dutch, British, French and Americans followed in their wake, in the interests of Western trade. Missionaries, too, of the Roman Catholic Faith, who taught European Science as well as the Christian religion, arrived in China, some of whom were most influential at the court of the Ming and Manchu emperors in Peking, and Western fleets and armies made their appearance in Far Eastern waters.

The earliest known British contacts with China were made by the East India Company, which set up its first trading centre at Canton in 1684, while the first British Ambassador to China was Lord Macartney, who visited Peking in 1793.

While these contacts of China with the West, prior to the nineteenth century, influenced to a certain extent the character of both Eastern and Western civilizations, they failed to make any appreciable impression upon the economic life or political institutions of China.

But the rise of the industrial age in Europe in the nineteenth century, and the desire for world-markets which accompanied it, together with the glamour of Empire which surrounded the European foreign policy of those days, led to the exercise by Western Powers of ever-increasing pressure, economic and political in character, upon the Orient. Gradually but persistently, this new element in Eastern and Western relationships transformed every aspect of China's national life, and changed the whole course of her history.

This pressure resulted in almost continuous conflict, due to faults and misunderstandings on both sides. Western traders naturally were anxious to open up intercourse that would be profitable to their own peoples, and "China was the land of four hundred million customers".² Some of

¹ *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, Budge, pp. 185, 188; also pamphlet by Rev. John Foster, *China's Place in the World-Wide Church*, p. 4.

² Title of book by Carl Crow.

these early pioneers of Western trade were not exactly of the "velvet glove" variety, and some of our earlier ambassadors found it difficult to conceal their inherent pride of race, or their consciousness that behind them lay the naval and military might of great nations. The Chinese, as represented by their Manchu overlords, were hampered by their peculiar philosophy of "face", and by their cultural-superiority complex. These, in spite of, and perhaps because of, their military weakness, led them quite naturally to resent this "barbarian" invasion of their shores. A clash was inevitable.

The determination of the Western Powers to open up China to trade led eventually, in 1840, to conflict between Great Britain and China. By the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, Hong Kong was ceded to Britain, and the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Shanghai and Ningpo opened to foreign trade. During the next few years, i.e. between 1843 and 1849, other treaties were made between China, the Western Powers and U.S.A., into which were introduced the "most favoured nation" clauses, defining and extending the existing practice of extra-territoriality which was not, however, as yet officially recognized, and granting to all European Powers any privilege in China which one particular member of the group might have been allowed.

Christianity was officially "tolerated" for the first time in 1844, by the Treaty of Wang-Hsia, although an agreement along this line had already been negotiated with the French the previous year. During this period also Great Britain, France and U.S.A. were granted concessions in Shanghai, to be under the control of their own nationals.¹

In 1856, war broke out again between Britain and France on the one hand, and China on the other, in connection with the incident of the cutter *Arrow*. This was followed by the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, when another eleven ports were opened to foreign trade, and "extra-territorial rights", which had been in practice since 1842, were for the first time officially "recognized" and granted to foreign residents in China.² Two years later, the Peking Convention was drawn

¹ See Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, "Period of Conflict", pp. 346-349.

² U.S.A. hoisted a separate flag, but this really initiated the international status of the old British Settlement retained until the present day. Morse, pp. 348-349.

up, on the basis of which foreign legations were set up at the capital, Peking, and a further concession agreed to at Tientsin, and the right of foreign missionaries to lease and buy lands for the erection of houses, etc., granted. In 1850, the Taiping rebellion broke out, and China later found it necessary to invite the American General F. T. Ward, and the "Chinese" Charles Gordon, to quell it. In 1875, a British Government agent, Margary, was murdered in Yunnan, and the next year, by the terms of the "Chesoo Convention", another ten ports were opened to foreign trade. France gained possession of Indo-China in 1885, and Burma became a British protectorate the following year. Later, as the result of a disastrous war with Japan, in 1894, China lost control of Formosa, Korea and the Pescadores.

This humiliating defeat aroused China to a sense of the national peril. A few patriots, realizing the danger, called for reform. The Viceroy Chang Chih T'ung issued his frantic appeal, "China's Only Hope", challenging the nation to graft Western science on to the old Confucian stock, and to adopt Western military and naval policies. In 1897, Germany gained special privileges in Shantung, including the port of Kiao Chow, later developed at Tsing-tao, as the result of negotiations following the murder of two German missionaries. This excited the concern of other European Powers, so Russia claimed Liaotung, Britain Wei-Hai-Wei, and France Kwang-Chow-Wan.

Concurrently with this unseemly scramble for concessions and privileges in China, special "spheres of influence" began to be marked out by the Great Powers. Russia claimed Manchuria, Britain the Yangtze Valley, Japan Fukien, Germany Shantung, and France Southern Yunnan. In 1899, the policy of the "open door", originally suggested by John Hay, of the United States, was agreed to by all the European Powers and Japan, and along with this, the economic grip of the Powers was tightened. Chinese began to be apprehensive lest their country should become another Africa. The phrase "the carving of the melon" had by this time become current amongst them. Owing, however, to the mutual envies and jealousies of the various Powers, only deep cuts were made in the melon, the actual "carving" did not take place. China was becoming to all intents and purposes a joint-colony of the various foreign Powers, but

managed somehow to retain a semblance of autonomy.

In 1898, Kang Yü Wei, with the support of the Emperor Kuang Hsu and a few influential compatriots, appealed for the complete reorganization of the Chinese educational system on Western lines. Unfortunately, the reformers in their excess of zeal plotted to seize the person of the Empress-Dowager, who, getting wind of the affair, promptly decapitated the majority. Reaction set in, issuing in the Boxer Rising of 1900, the siege of Peking and the massacre of large numbers of missionaries and thousands of Chinese Christians throughout the country. The Powers took united action. A foreign military expedition relieved Peking and marched into the interior. Under the terms of the Boxer "protocol", indemnities were exacted by the Powers concerned, and further foreign "concessions" and privileges gained.

All this necessitated an adaptation of China's life and institutions, for which their ancient culture and civilization did not suffice. The words of Sun Yat Sen, spoken in the midst of the succeeding struggle, are apropos: "Even if we succeed in reviving our ancient morality, learning to reproduce the best of our national heritage, we shall still need to adopt the strong points of Europe and America before we can progress at an equal rate with them."¹

This series of events was but to prove a curtain-raiser to the dramatic scenes in China of the last half-century, which, if I am not mistaken, will in the light of history be seen to be the most pregnant and formative period of all. The story of this forms the subject of succeeding chapters, in the telling of which I shall draw largely upon my own personal experience.

2. Personal Observation

I arrived in China November 1908, as one of a party of eleven "tenderfoot" British missionaries. Our fellow-passengers included a small group of missionaries bound for India. As they left the ship at Colombo to proceed to their destinations, I recall how we who were "China-bound" had congratulated ourselves, too complacently as we were afterwards to discover, on our not having been allocated to

¹ *San Min Chu I*, p. 142.

India. For there, we reasoned, it must be peculiarly difficult for representatives of the paramount power to preach the Gospel of Divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood in the midst of a people who so obviously resented British control.

But we were soon jolted out of our complacency in that respect.

The fact that during the voyage out East every port at which we had called after leaving the Mediterranean was British, Port Said, Suez, Aden, Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, had given us a sense of pride in the world-encircling chain of Empire of which these were links.

Hong Kong particularly had impressed us. For over a barren rock our engineers had waved their magic wand and created a veritable fairy-land with its magnificent harbour, Peak Railway, its cricket lawns and football pitches, its terraced slopes and shady grottoes, bathing beaches, churches, clubs and modern hospitals, stores, hotels and University. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese were crowded together within the shadow of this rock, seemingly quite happy and contented to live under British rule.

At the back of our minds there was, however, the uneasy feeling that this monument to British enterprise, efficiency and tolerance had been grudgingly granted to us in 1842 at the conclusion of a war in which our opium traffic with China had figured prominently.

On arrival at Shanghai we were surprised to find British officials in charge of the Chinese Customs Service. We were soon told by Shanghai British residents that this had arisen from the Chinese inability to manage such a complicated piece of international finance—that as a matter of fact the Chinese, aware of the “corruption” of their own officials, had in the time of the Tai Ping rebellion asked the British to tackle the job for them. And, of course, we were reminded of the magnificent work of Sir Robert Hart in organizing the Customs and postal system for the Chinese Government—and that most of the foreign loans which had been made to China were guaranteed by the revenue from this efficiently and honestly administered Service.

The benefits of all this to China were gratefully acknowledged by a young Chinese student who had travelled with

us from England. He was a nephew of one of the ill-fated Reformers of 1898. He had been educated in British Universities, and had seen diplomatic service in France. But he had also ventured to express the hope that one day "Tariff Autonomy" would gradually be restored to China!

Here in Shanghai we were introduced to the International and French Concessions, with their Foreign Municipal Councils and Foreign Courts of Justice---tangible reminder of all the privileges and handicaps of our "extra-territorial rights"—so slowly and painfully extracted from the unwilling Chinese in the course of the last century.¹

A visit to the British Consulate secured for us our Chinese visas and passports—the latter, as interpreted by one who was well versed in Chinese—granting us permission to travel and reside in the interior and propagate the Christian religion—privileges which had been gained by the Tientsin Treaties of 1858 and the Chefoo Convention of 1875.

From Shanghai we travelled to Hankow, calling at three "open" ports on the way—Chin Kiang, Nanking, and Kiu Kiang, each with its British consul and small international missionary and merchant community. British gunboats plied freely along this main arterial waterway to the very heart of China at Chung King, evidence thus that this was a British "sphere of influence".

Arrived at Hankow, 600 miles up the Yangtze, with its British, French and Russian Concessions, we had the amusing and somewhat enlightening experience of seeing one of the China Inland missionaries, who was wearing Chinese gown and queue, unceremoniously ordered off a seat on the British Bund by a Sikh policeman, who had mistaken him for a Chinese, who in those days were not "allowed" there.

From Hankow we travelled some 700 miles north by a railway, financed, engineered and controlled by the Belgians, to Shih-Chia-Chuang, the junction for the Shansi line, 160 miles long, and also a foreign enterprise. Here we were taken to our first Chinese inn. We noticed that the inn-keeper, a tall, gaunt Chinese, went out of his way to make us comfortable. We learnt afterwards that this was because he owed his life to one of the two British missionaries who had

¹ It is rather interesting to observe that in those days the Western Powers were striving to get China to accord them "equal" status.

come to meet us. In 1900 he had joined the Boxers, and looted the missionaries' home. For months this missionary, his wife and children had been hiding in caves and among the growing crops, and had been literally "in deaths oft".¹ When the Foreign Expeditionary Force, advancing into the interior, arrived at this spot, the German commander ordered the leaders of the local Boxers to be handed over for trial, amongst them this innkeeper. But on the request of our missionary friend, he was released.

That provided a little antidote to some of the feelings that had been rising in our minds about missionary service. For all we had seen on this "jolting" journey had awakened us to the fact that in China, as in India, considerable difficulties must be expected on account of the political complexity of our position. But in spite of the fact that we were in the country by Treaty right—and likely to be embarrassed by so much foreign economic domination as we had already witnessed, we began to think that perhaps there was a place which missionaries, and only missionaries, could "fill".

As we wound our way along the narrow-gauged line from Shih-Chia-Chuang into Shansi, we passed through one of the richest anthracite coal-fields in the world.² We were informed by our senior colleague that a foreign Syndicate had endeavoured to secure a monopoly of these coal-fields, but that the local Shansi gentry had resisted their overtures and organized what they called the "Syndicate for Protecting Shansi" (from the foreigner) for the working of these mines. "Bravo!" said I, in the deepest recesses of my own heart, "that's the spirit." Although, as we learned later, the commercial interests of Shansi might have been better served if the foreign Syndicate had taken over. Nevertheless, one could not but secretly applaud this commendable gesture of nationalism. For apart from the wistful expression of our Chinese fellow-passenger about Tariff Autonomy, reported above, this was the only sign we had observed on our long journey of the independent spirit of China.

¹ Mr. Charles H. Green wrote an account of their experiences with this title.

² Baron Richtofen estimates that there are some 13,000 square miles of anthracite coal-fields in Shansi, with seams varying from 20 to 30 feet in thickness. *The Chinese Empire*, edited by Marshall Broomhall.

3. *The Martyr Province*

Eventually we arrived at our temporary destination of T'aiyuanfu, the capital of Shansi Province, and very soon we were made aware that we were venturing indeed on to "holy ground". For it was Shansi that witnessed the most violent expression of the Boxer fury of 1900.

This movement was symptomatic of the hatred with which many influential Chinese regarded foreigners in China in those days. True, there were some outstanding exceptions. But Yü Hsien—the Governor of Shansi—was not one of these. Twenty-eight years before, missionaries like David Hill, J. J. Turner and Timothy Richard had come to Shansi, bearing some £35,000 of British money to the relief of a famine-stricken people, and saved thousands of Chinese lives. This weighed nothing with Yü Hsien, because British representations concerning his complicity in the murder of an Anglican missionary in Shantung had led to his "degradation" from the Governorship of that province to Shansi. So, when the opportunity came, as it did with the Boxer Rising, he was not slow to wreak his vengeance on the defenceless missionaries, forty-seven of whom, Protestant and Catholic, together with a number of little children, were brutally massacred by him on July 7th in the outer court of the Provincial Yamen. Mr. and Mrs. Piggott, with their son Wellesley, twelve years of age, were amongst them. These were members of the West Street Baptist Church, Rochdale, to which I also belonged, to whose death I trace my own "call" to missionary service. Now this city is dotted with memorials to the memory of these "martyrs". Tablets still stand outside the Governor's Yamen, and in a reserved courtyard in "Heaven's Peace" Street, where the missionaries and their families were imprisoned for some days before the massacre. Outside the big south gate stands a pavilion where their bodies were thrown to the dogs. Outside the east gate is the Martyrs' Cemetery, beautifully kept, where crosses to both missionaries and their Chinese comrades stand in orderly and "speaking" array; and within the city again a fine Martyr Memorial Church has been erected near the site where Miss Coombes, the first foreigner to suffer on that

memorable occasion, in an attempt to rescue two Chinese girls from the blazing school-house, was pushed back by ruthless hands into the flames and burnt to death.

This Martyr Memorial Church was recently the scene of a Japanese irruption, when during the service the whole congregation, two hundred and forty in all, was carried off in lorries to their headquarters for questioning. Some of the leaders were beaten and imprisoned, and one at least, loyal to the Christian tradition and refusing to compromise his conscience, was killed. The church itself the Japanese have converted into a cinema for the entertainment of their troops. Truly one could write "Ichabod" over the portals.

For years we Protestants agitated for the removal of many of these monuments, as the officials who had been made responsible for their upkeep had allowed them to fall into neglect. By them they were regarded as a permanent memorial of "national shame" commemorating the act of an infuriated predecessor, for which they were not responsible. It was thought that our relations with the Chinese people would be improved if these memorials of past bitterness and hate could be eliminated, especially as in the church and the cemetery the sacred memory of the martyrs was fittingly preserved.

But as we could not reach agreement on this matter with our Catholic brethren the monuments still stand.

Three other memorials in that city call for mention, as they are more typical of the real spirit of China and the Christian West. One is a stone tablet, erected inside the south gate by the local Christians, as a tribute to Ch'en Tao T'ai, the Chinese official who acted most sympathetically and fairly in the ensuing negotiations. The second was erected to my missionary friend, Dr. E. H. Edwards, who refused to accept any compensation at all for his ruined home and hospital; the third is the Shansi Government University, which was erected with the "indemnity"¹ funds, at the suggestion of Dr. Timothy Richard, the pioneer Protestant missionary to the province, as a gesture of goodwill and with a view to creating better understanding between Chinese and foreigners generally, and between

¹ Tls. 50,000 per annum for ten years was set aside for this purpose. *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, E. H. Edwards, p. 161.

Chinese officials and the Christian Church in particular. These instances of Christian "retribution" paved the way for the return of indemnity funds by America and Great Britain later on. The establishment of the Ching Hua University with the U.S.A. share of the Boxer Indemnity,¹ and the formation of the Boxer Indemnity Return Commission by Great Britain and China, to administer the balance of the British Indemnity claim, with its various constructive and mutually beneficial projects of railways, educational and industrial developments, helped forward co-operation between the Governments concerned.

I have elaborated somewhat upon the Boxer Movement and these aspects of the settlement. For it was out of this movement that the modern educational system of China arose, characterized as it is by Western and particularly Christian influences, which in turn led to the revolution in 1911, and the rise of Christian leadership in the nation which more than any other single factor has led to the rise of modern China and to her taking a fitting and helpful place amongst the great democracies of the world.

4. *The Last Days of Empire*

I am thankful as I look back for my experience of China in the last years of the Manchu regime. For that enables me to estimate better than I could otherwise have done the nature and significance of the tremendous changes which have occurred since.

Those were the days when, generally speaking, the presence of the foreigner in China, whether merchant or missionary, diplomat or traveller, was grudgingly tolerated, when the commonest epithet hurled at us was "foreign devil". Not infrequently when preaching in country districts, we were stoned out of remoter villages. Those were the days when missionary doctors were still suspected of extracting the hearts and eyes of orphan children to be used for foreign medicine—the days when foreign railway engineers, with their Japanese "wives" and well-stocked sideboard of liqueurs, were popularly called "Reverend".

¹ The total obligation, including interest, was, according to H. B. Morse, £147,335,722 divided amongst thirteen Powers, Vol. II. Quoted in *China* by F. C. Jones, p. 141.

like the missionaries. Those were the days, too, when the people generally "sniffed" at the Bible, the scholars because, being written in the popular style, they thought it failed in literary merit, the peasants because it "smacked" of foreign "devils" ink, and was therefore to be kept away from their eyes, as they sought to prevent similarly malicious foreign influence entering their nostrils or mouths by covering them with their long sleeves as we approached.

The attitude of the officials, who were mainly of the old Conservative School, was, with some notable exceptions, perfunctory and condescending, and one gained the impression that they would have "rid the land" of our presence if they possibly could. They regaled themselves and their visitors with gargantuan repasts lasting several hours and comprising anything from sixteen to thirty-two courses. Many of them indulged in opium, and could rarely be interviewed before noon, although visitors were expected to leave their cards before daybreak.

Bribery, corruption and graft characterized the Law Courts. Prisons were vile, barbaric punishments like the bamboo, the cangue, strangling with silken cords, dismemberment, still prevailed. Officials' stipends were largely nominal in character, and so had to be implemented by every device occurring to the mind of man.

Communications were poor. We travelled eight miles an hour by mule or pony, or three miles an hour by Peking cart, but little cheered by the slogan on the cart shafts, "A thousand Chinese miles by day and eight hundred by night!" The inns were filthy, verminous, noisy and tumbledown.

Illiteracy prevailed. The Scholars' Empire had guarded the sacred shrine of learning so well that not more than 7 per cent of the population had gained access to it. By most officials, Western education was still frowned upon as a noisome intruder in the holy and quiescent precincts of the Confucian Temple; at the best it was regarded as an unavoidable necessity.

Railways, telegraphs and telephones were thought to facilitate the spread of various invisible evil influences. This was largely due to the propaganda of merchants and officials who had vested interests in local transport, or to

unscrupulous Taoist priests who battened on the superstitious notions of the people.

Those were the days of the Mandarin button, the sedan-chair, the visiting-card that required something like a modern brief-case to accommodate it; of the queue, imposed by the Manchus upon the Chinese as a badge of subjection; of opium, when in Shansi, it was commonly reported that nine out of ten indulged; of the copper cash, strung together in units of a thousand, a cart being required to convey the equivalent of £2; of the "silver shoe" from which the local cash shop chopped off a chunk and weighed into local currency. Incidentally there was a different exchange in every county. We know that paper money was current in the Ming dynasty (sixteenth century). But such innovations evidently made little headway in old China.

The feet of the women were still bound, their minds largely "unopened". Confined to the inner chamber of their homes, closely segregated from open companionship with the opposite sex, they were allowed out only on high days and holidays, when gorgeously bedecked with silks and tinsel ornaments they hobbled to theatricals and processions. Even in the Christian church there was a curtain dividing the women and girls from the men and boys, who entered and left by separate doors. Women, with few exceptions, were considered unworthy of any education other than that which they received at their mother's knee, namely, that the whole duty of woman consisted in attending to the needs of her future mother-in-law, devoting such spare time as was left to the wants of her husband. Polygamy was rife, the number of concubines being limited usually by the purse of the purchaser; while widowhood was held in artificial esteem by the erection of numerous memorial archways to "Chastity".

Girl babies were still "not wanted". Frequently have I seen them thrown out on the city wall, their faces grotesquely coloured so as to be unrecognizable by their parents should their spirit return to trouble them. Others adopted the more humane method of dropping them into the baby receptacles provided by the nearest Catholic Church, which is to be commended for this gracious act of "charity".

These were the days in which the Christian Church was either ignored by the majority of officials or vilified as an agency of foreign cultural penetration—which would die out if foreign support in finance and personnel were withdrawn. It was small in numbers (200,000 at most in the Protestant Church), possessed of few leaders, the foreign missionary holding every important position; loosely organized, although observing for strategic reasons the principle of comity. There were no Christians in the Government Service, as the Civil Service was open only to Confucianists. The educational system of the Church in the interior was confined largely to schools of Primary grades, although there were a few colleges at or near the coastal perimeter. Mission hospitals were ill-equipped, with few facilities for training either nurses or doctors. At the ports the foreign merchants, again with some notable exceptions, were not there, as they said, "for their health". For many of them still thought in terms of "ten years of the East, and then home to retire". To such, missionaries were mostly of the "psalm-singing" or "damned" variety, regarded as lowering foreigners' prestige by accepting small salaries, travelling second or even third class, or spoiling the natives with their cursed talk of "equality" and "fair-dealing".

Chinese were going abroad in increasing numbers for their education—to America, Europe and Japan—and imbibing political notions.

All this was like the waters of Niagara crashing into the stream of China's life—the waters below the torrent as yet placid on the surface—but seething and boiling beneath—ready to break out into the turbulence and whirlpools of the rapids lower down. The scene was set for Revolution!

CHAPTER V EASTERN REACTION

1. Revolution and its Aftermath

AFTER the settlement of the Boxer trouble, changes were introduced into education which led to the reform of the old Civil Service examination system. The curricula of Government Schools, formerly confined to the classical literature, now included Western science, geography, history, foreign languages, political economy and the like. In Shansi, in line with similar movements throughout the country, a few schools of middle school grade with this hybrid curriculum, gradually sprang up. Even in elementary schools, though Chinese subjects still took up the major part of the teaching time, these were interlarded with a smattering of English and arithmetic.

In the Capital City of Taiyuanfu, the Imperial University was divided into Chinese and Western Departments. Dr. Timothy Richard, who had suggested the establishment of this University, acted as Chancellor of the Western side until 1909, when he handed the whole institution over to Chinese control. Meanwhile two missionaries, Rev. Moir Duncan of the Baptist Missionary Society and Rev. W. E. Soothill of the Methodist Missionary Society, had acted successively as Principals.

The number of students who went to America, Europe and Japan was considerably increased. No less than forty were sent from this Shansi University to England within ten years of its founding. There were kindred educational movements in other provinces.

Some steps, too, had been taken towards giving the country a semblance of popular government. In Taiyuanfu a palatial and ornate building was erected, styled the Tzu I Chü, or Provincial Council Chamber. But although delegates from all parts of Shansi, attired in every variety of Western sartorial discards in the way of frock-coats and

tall hats, had assembled on one occasion, no real progress towards representative government was made.

The Manchurian garrisons continued to be maintained throughout the country, but if conditions in Shansi are any criterion of the country in general, they were in very poor shape indeed. Military discipline among them was at a discount, and apart from rotation of duties at the city gate, they engaged in very little activity of any kind. So the Manchus had been compelled to enlist large numbers of Chinese in the National Forces, and there were amongst the higher ranks of officers, considerable numbers of Chinese. A military academy had been established by Yuan Shih K'ai at Pao Ting Fu, to which many Chinese cadets, including Chiang Kai Shek, came for preliminary training before proceeding to Japan to complete their military education.

In line with this new development, Shansi possessed the nucleus of a Chinese army led by one Major Yen Hsi Shan, who, like many others, had passed through the Pao Ting Fu Academy, and spent some years in military training in Japan. While there he had become a member of the "Covenanters" (T'ung Meng Hui) who, inspired by Sun Yat Sen, became the military arm of the Revolutionary Party.

But the civil arm of this movement was also represented amongst us. For some months before the actual outbreak in 1911, we had made the acquaintance of an enterprising young man, formerly a missionary's servant, who also had spent some time in Japan, and had received a partial medical education in England under the beneficent influence of interested British friends.

Ostensibly he was a teacher in the Shansi Government University, but as a matter of fact was the Secret Political Agent of the Revolutionary Party. He was very friendly with the foreign community, particularly the missionaries, and a frequent visitor to our home. He was usually immaculately attired and had no queue.

The times were changing, for well I remember that two years previously a young Chinese student who had just returned from America, wearing foreign clothes, and no less revolutionary in spirit than his English-returned confrère, had thought it politic to put on a Chinese gown and hat,

and even to attach his queue to the latter before venturing to appear in public at Taiyuanfu. A few weeks before the actual outbreak great consternation was caused amongst our Chinese congregation when one of our Mission School teachers showed his revolutionary sympathies by appearing in the pulpit without his queue, and exhorting the men openly to cut off this appanage of slavery.

So that in Shansi, as in other provinces, the Revolutionary Party had its agents, both civil and military, and the ground was well prepared for the turn-over.

In early October we received due warning of the impending storm, and after the outbreak in Wuch'ang on October 10th, rumours became rife in the city and surrounding country. Our "civil" guide urged all foreigners to segregate and to lay in a stock of food. This was done. On Sunday morning the soldiers attacked the Governor's Yamen, and we knew the Revolution had begun. We held service as usual in the house. I remember noting that as the senior missionary sat down before me, and lifted up his frock-coat, he exposed a revolver on his right hip! Being more pacific minded I just loaded a sporting-gun and put it in one corner of the bedroom!

As darkness set in a friend and I set out to answer the bell on the outer gate. Bullets whizzed over our heads—as now the Revolutionists were firing against the Manchu city in the south-east corner and being answered by them from the eastern wall. We ran crouching to the gate. There, in the dim haze of the evening, illuminated by the flickering glare of burning buildings, stood our English "returned student" with one solitary soldier as his bodyguard. "Stand guard," said our friend, "there are forty foreigners in here!" "But my friends are looting," replied the bodyguard. "Never mind that. You stand here. We are all brothers now. I'll see you don't lose." Another surreptitious journey to the gate a little later and I knew that he too had gone!

Mercifully we were preserved in the midst of that holocaust. About midnight Major Yen arrived with some two hundred men to enquire about our welfare, and after leaving a full guard round the wall, he dashed off with the remainder to fire several volleys through the main streets of the city. Morning broke over the smoking city with the

news that the Manchu Governor had been killed. Many wounded members of his family had been brought in to the Mission hospital, where fearsome fellows with long hair and ghastly looking blades were on guard.

The Revolutionaries continued to bombard the Manchu city, but both Manchu soldiers and civilians were allowed egress through the east gate. After further desultory firing and some lopping off of heads, suspended for our reassurance from telegraph poles above our compound wall, the Revolution in Shansi was declared "accomplished". As far as our province was concerned, the Manchus were overthrown, with little bloodshed, after two hundred and sixty years of rule. In that respect it differed much from Sianfu, the capital of Shensi, where over ten thousand Manchus were killed.

But the big plan of the Revolutionaries had failed. Armies from Central China and Shensi should have joined the Shansi forces at the junction of the Hankow and Shansi lines for a march on Peking, but the Commander-in-Chief, General Wu, was shot on the junction station.

This failure of the military plan necessitated the securing of the good offices of General Yuan Shih K'ai and the inauguration of diplomatic démarches to the Imperial Court, until on February 12th, 1912, the Manchu boy-Emperor was persuaded to abdicate and leave the Chinese once more in possession of their own house.

The years that follow make a wearisome tale of civil strife. This was primarily due to the premature character of the Revolution. The country was unready for it. Even Sun Yat Sen, the prime organizer and agitator, was in America when hostilities began, and had to be hurriedly recalled. The Revolutionary armies lacked cohesion and co-ordination of aim. The people as a whole lacked the rudiments of political knowledge. New China had come prematurely to birth, and so was involved in a prolonged and critical struggle for life.

One afternoon during the spring of 1912 I was standing outside a street preaching-hall in Tsinan, Shantung, where we had been temporarily transferred, when Sun Yat Sen, in the frock-coat and bowler hat which had been adopted as the Parliamentary uniform of the Republicans, went by, borne on the shoulders of a number of local enthusiasts.

His fatigue and disappointment were not concealed by the sickly smile with which he greeted us. He was on his way south from Peking, where, after consultation, he had handed the Presidency of the Republic to the renowned military leader, Yuan Shih K'ai.

It was realized that the times called for stern measures, and at that time the only hope for unity and progress seemed to lie in the supreme Power being in military hands.

Many received this news at first with relief, but others were duly apprehensive. Sun Yat Sen went south to organize his own Revolutionary Government in Canton, while the northern factions, led respectively by Yuan Shih K'ai and Tuan Chi Jui, were in constant enmity.

So desperate did the situation become in 1915 that Yuan Shih K'ai made his ill-fated attempt to restore the Monarchy, arrogating to himself the Imperial title of Hung Hsien, and on New Year's Day 1916 revived the ancient Imperial worship at the Altar of Heaven at Peking. In this he was clearly out of step with popular opinion, and having failed to meet with any appreciable support from the country, and burdened with anxiety, he conveniently died on June 6th, 1916.

After this, Presidents came and went. War-lords rose and fell. The days of the old Warring States returned. The ancient criss-cross politicians Su-Chin and Chang I were restored to life.¹ The allies of one day were the enemies of the next. The secret agents of one war-lord were at the court of every other. Every man's hand was against his neighbour. The slogan of each militarist seemed to be "expand one's sphere of influence". Great private armies were raised, whose personal loyalty to their leader was insecurely based on the incidence of regular pay, and officers were promoted according to the number of levies they could raise. As Pearl Buck has so vividly shown in her book *Brothers*, a man by this means, and possessed of a pugnacious disposition, could rise from the kitchen galley to the rule of a province. Every soldier wore arm-bands, on which were printed moral maxims such as "Be patriotic", "Love the people", but these only served to

¹ Men who in the Feudal Age tried to form alliances of States on north and south, or east and west lines.

throw into still greater relief their lawless and unscrupulous behaviour. As a matter of fact these armies were usually little less than brigands when organized, and bandits when defeated and scattered.

Until 1926, when we left Shansi for Shantung, the nation as a whole remained in the crucible of civil war. But something was crystallizing out of it. China was gradually becoming aware of herself as a national entity.

2. *The Model Province*

Throughout this period Shansi proved to be somewhat of an "oasis" in the desert, so much so that what in missionary circles had become known as the Martyr Province, because of the events of 1900, now began to be termed the Model Province, and its Governor, Yen Hsi Shan, the Model Governor.

Incidentally, Yen Hsi Shan holds the record for long service, for he has continued in office either as Governor or Governor-General of Shansi Province from the first day of the Republic until now. He still holds the title, but as Shansi is now occupied by the Japanese he has had perforce to transfer to Shensi, where on the west side of the Yellow River, he has established his new capital, aptly called "Overcoming Difficulty".

For nearly twenty years he adopted a Monroe Doctrine for Shansi, refraining from embarking on any of the military adventures of his fellow war-lords, and endeavouring at the same time to introduce educational, economical and moral reforms.

When asked by a visitor from America to what the secret of his success could be attributed, he said naïvely, "I can only look after one province." This, incidentally, was a rebuke to those of his military colleagues whose energies seemed to be directed to the expansion of their sphere of influence and the enlargement of their "food-bowl" by invading neighbouring provinces and incorporating them and their revenues into their own particular ring. It has been said that Yen gained the title of the Model Governor not so much because of his social reforms as for the fact that he not only did not draw from the Central Treasury any funds for the upkeep of his provincial regime, but even

contributed something to it! That, if true, is sufficiently creditable, but he deserves his title on other grounds.

It was the writer's privilege to share for many years the confidence of this remarkable man and the officials who were associated with him in this attempted "reconstruction" of one province. Though he had been trained as a military man, he entrusted his armies to more capable hands, while he, with his old teacher Chao Tzu Lung, devoted himself to the renovation of the people.

In a Chinese edition of *Who's Who*, there is an interesting account of his career: "The anti-plague campaign in the winter of 1917-1918 marked the turning-point of Yen Hsi Shan's career. From that time he . . . resolved to devote himself wholly to the development of his own province (Shansi). He reorganized the civil administration, reformed the public school system, founded an anti-footbinding society, organized the 'heart-cleansing' society for the revival of morals, encouraged afforestation, promoted the growth of cotton and silk, the improved breeding of stock, and the Boy Scout Movement."

General Yen attributed the inspiration for these notable reforms to the example set by the Christian forces in stemming a serious outbreak of pneumonic plague, referred to above.

Rising early and retiring late, he laboured incessantly to introduce reforms. His armies until 1928 or so were amongst the most orderly of all forces in China. They were not particularly distinguished as fighting men (they had not had the opportunity for that!), but they were well-disciplined and behaved, well-officered, and what was very important, well-paid.

Educationally the province made great strides. Colleges of Agriculture and Forestry, Law, Commerce, Technology and Teacher-training, were established and well supported with staff and funds. Serious attempts were made to eliminate illiteracy, through the army and the establishment of popular education schools. Primary and Middle Schools were greatly increased.

Model villages were organized at certain centres; prizes were given for tree-planting, well-digging, land reclamation and the like. A citizen's handbook, running into over one million copies, was published, and freely distributed.

The Law Courts were well administered, and modern prisons set up in the capital and county towns. The Model Prison in Taiyuanfu was visited regularly by the missionaries, and I can vouch for the cleanliness and the discipline, the good feeding and housing that obtained there, and the education and craft-training which were provided. Systematic instruction was given in religion, and freedom to preach the Christian Gospel granted. Foreign offenders temporarily detained there had foreign food sent in from local hotels, and received considerate treatment.

Sports were fostered. As Y.M.C.A. Secretary it was my responsibility to organize inter-collegiate sports, football, tennis, etc. Some interesting and even amusing stories of this aspect of a missionary's life could be told.

Suppression of opium and narcotics was initiated. There are good reasons for thinking that the suppression policy was not pursued so relentlessly or whole-heartedly as were other social reforms. Time and again I have witnessed heart-breaking scenes as the tumbrils of humble delinquents rolled on their way to the execution ground, the mercifully semi-stupefied occupants shouting out, "We are not the chief offenders; we are small pedlars, the main culprits are higher up."

The Anti-footbinding Movement was, however, given strong official support, and girls were encouraged to enter school in village and town.

Many interesting efforts at moral and religious revival were made. Frequently the Governor said to me, "God (Shang-Ti) is not the God of the foreigners only. He is also our God." Officials, including the Governor, would occasionally visit the church, Y.M.C.A., and other Christian Institutions. But their chief efforts in religion were directed towards a Buddhist-Confucian Revival, under the leadership of Chao-Tz'u Lung.

A large building, resembling a cathedral in architecture, was erected in the centre of the city, called the Hall of Self-Examination. Here all officials and representative citizens were called by rote for meditation on their inner life and conduct. Distinguished visitors like Dr. Dewey, Rabindranath Tagore or Dr. Munroe addressed these assemblies, and occasionally the Christian missionaries were invited to speak.

An ethical movement under the auspices of the "Cleanse the Heart Society" was organized at the capital, and branches were established throughout the province, at which regular meetings were held.

I remember speaking at one of these district meetings in the Governor's native city of Wu T'ai, on the value of the movement. Having urged that some other Power than our own was necessary to purify the heart and keep it pure, I was rebuked by the President, who, true to Confucian tradition, said, "No—you are wrong, nothing but our own diligence is necessary," quoting as he did so the famous inscription on the bath-tub of the Emperor T'ang, "Renew your heart daily".

Numerous religious Syncretic Societies arose, in which educated men sought to render, externally at least, equal honour to Confucius, Lao Tzu, Buddha, Mohammed, and Christ. Even Elijah and John the Baptist were included in the Pantheon, and messages were reported to be received from all by means of the planchette. Public discussion groups were organized, at which addresses were given by representatives of all religions.

The Christian Church, too, was encouraged and made considerable progress throughout the province. This was the period when the Church was not merely tolerated, but became actually popular throughout China, the missionaries being held in high esteem. One could not but reflect on the vast change that had occurred in the short course of twenty years, seeing that at the very Yamen where our missionary predecessors had been brutally butchered in 1900, by the notorious Yü Hsien, we were now welcomed by his enlightened and friendly successor as honoured guests.

PART III

MODERN CHINA: CHINA BECOMES A NATION



CHAPTER VI

BIRTH

CHINA declared war against the Central Powers in 1917 (August) and rendered active help to the Allies by sending tens of thousands of coolies to the French and other fronts (Shantung alone sent over 70,000) and the raising of considerable sums for the International Red Cross.

She had hoped by this to improve her status with the Democratic World Powers, and that at the Peace Conference the German rights in Shantung, which had been taken over by Japan after the fall of Tsingtao in 1914, might be restored to her. She expected, too, that she would make some progress in regard to Tariff Autonomy and the abolition of Extra-territorial Rights.

But Versailles disappointed her. The settlement left Japan in control of Shantung, with a vague promise of restoration to China in the future, and the whole question of China's economic and political independence was shelved. A "sop", however, was offered her, as Germany was compelled to return the seventeenth-century astronomical instruments which her soldiers had looted at the raising of the siege of Peking in 1900!

China's delegates returned from the Conference aggrieved and incensed. But by this setback the Nationalistic spirit of China, especially among the student class, was greatly stimulated. For then it began to dawn upon the people of China that if their country was to become free she must depend more upon her own efforts and not look solely or too much to her foreign friends.

The Washington Conference (1921-2) provided another "stimulant" of this character. For while the Nine Power Treaty which resulted, guaranteed the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of China, the continuation of the "open-door" policy and the revision of the Import Tariff

in China's favour,¹ and also provided for the setting up of a commission to consider the abolition of Extra-territorial Rights,² and extracted from Japan a promise to return all the former German concessions in Shantung, Chinese national opinion was not satisfied. For at this Conference Japan still refused to hand over her Shantung interests completely, insisting on lending the money to China for the purchase of the Shantung (Chiao-Chi) Railway, and on the appointment of a Japanese traffic manager until the loan was redeemed.

China, too, was greatly exercised about Manchuria and Russian interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway. But friendly gestures by Russia, the voluntary surrender of their extra-territorial rights in China and other fair promises of Russian aid made by Karakhan, Joffre and Borodin between the years 1919-1924, won over Sun Yat Sen, so that the section of South China for which he was responsible was brought under Communist influence, and on the advice of Russian agents, the training of cadets at the Whampoa Military Academy under Chiang Kai Shek began. In the north, Feng Yü Hsiang, who had removed the young Chinese Emperor from the Palace in October 1924 and had established a northern provisional government, also temporarily succumbed to the blandishments of Karakhan. It seemed as if all China was not only to "see red" as they listened to subtle "interpretations" of the "dilatory" and "insincere" policy of the Western Imperialistic Powers, but to "go red" as well.

Shortly afterwards Sun Yat Sen, the great national leader, honoured by all as the founder of the Chinese Republic, died. The revolutionary movement in China owes more to him than to any other individual. Born in 1866 in the neighbourhood of Canton—the son of a Christian colporteur, he received his early education in Christian schools in Hawaii, where he was baptized during his High School days. Returning to Canton at the age of eighteen, he graduated later as the first Chinese doctor of modern medicine in 1892. After a short period of practice in Macao

¹ Tariff autonomy was granted to China in 1929.

² The Commission reported in September 1926, but "pronounced against the abandonment of extra-territorial rights until there was adequate security from executive or military interference, in the civil and judicial administration".

he was expelled by the Portuguese on the grounds of their objection to native practitioners.

From that time he devoted his whole life to the Revolutionary cause. Between 1893 and 1896, after a first disastrous attempt at revolt in Canton, he was in exile in Japan, America and England, narrowly escaping with his life after being kidnapped and confined in the Chinese Legation in London.¹ In 1904 he was back in Japan, organizing amongst the large numbers of Chinese students there his revolutionary band of "Covenanters" and "Dare-to-dies". In 1911, in the early part of the year, he and his associates staged a second revolt in Canton, which proved to be equally disastrous with the first—no less than seventy-two of the participants being executed.

We have already told of his resigning the Presidency of the newly established Republic to General Yuan Shih K'ai, and the factious strife of the succeeding years; of his flirtation with Communism, and the temporary reorganization of the Nationalist Republican Party on Communist lines. He failed also, in this period, to establish a Southern government which foreign powers would recognize, and had by a threat to hold the Canton customs revenue, and other extreme actions, excited their active intervention. In the course of a vain attempt to reach agreement with the Northern Military Party at Peking, he fell seriously ill and died there on March 12th, 1925, in the home of Dr. Wellington Koo. Before doing so he dictated his will to his wife Sung Ching Ling (elder sister of Madame Chiang).

Sun Yat Sen died a poor man as far as this world's goods are concerned. A pathetic note found crumpled under his pillow after his death, reads: "I beg Ching Ling, my wife and comrade, to accept my books, my old clothes, and the house in Shanghai—not as a bequest, because my few possessions can hardly be called an estate, but as a souvenir."²

But in the legacy of his spirit, which survives in Chiang Kai Shek and other revolutionary leaders and in the growth of the Nationalist Movement throughout the

¹ He dedicated his book *The International Development of China* "to Sir James and Lady Cantlie, to whom I once owed my life."

² *Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic*, H. A. Van Dorn, p. 50.

country, he has proved to be rich indeed.

Then as a result of agitation by students, workers and peasants in connection with the Communist Movement, occurred the Shanghai and Canton incidents of May 30th and June 23rd, 1925, in the course of which Chinese student agitators were shot by foreign police officers or troops. The whole country was aflame. Anti-British demonstrations occurred in every main centre. British property was attacked, British lives were threatened, likewise those of their Chinese associates. A general boycott of British goods was organized. The British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang were seized by the Nationalist forces.

In T'aiyuan, where we were then residing, the names of prominent British folk in the city were chalked up as the next on the list to be killed! Slogans like "Down with the British", "God damn all Britishers and get out of the road", "Abolish the unequal treaties", "Restore to us our educational rights" were yelled at us as we appeared on the streets, or were scrawled over the walls of the Mission houses and institutions. Most of the Mission residents were located in one centre, which the students, with pardonable ignorance perhaps, thought was a British concession. This was also "to be restored".

Processions of students, in which the Mission schoolboys were compelled to join, paraded the streets. Church buildings were attacked, to the accompaniment of such slogans as "Religion is the dope of the people", "Christianity is the agency of Western Imperialism", "Missionaries and Chinese Christians are the running dogs of Western Capitalism," in most of which will be recognized a decidedly Bolshevik flavour.

Chiang Kai Shek's army marched from the south to the Yangtze in 1926 and 1927. Students by the thousand, including several of our Middle School boys, prior to this had migrated southwards to the Huangpo Academy to be trained as military officers and to take their part in the deliverance of their country from the Imperialist yoke. Later, others went north-westwards to Russia, to the Sun Yat Sen University, which the Russians established at Moscow in 1927. Evidently they thought the time had come to express their nationalistic aspirations in more forcible ways than strikes and demonstrations.

Concurrently the cult of Sun Yat Senism arose—on the lines of Leninism.

His body was embalmed, and after lying in state for a while in one of the temples outside Peking, was conveyed to Nanking by special train in 1929 (the front of the engine being covered with a huge picture of himself). Great trunk roads were driven through the city of Nanking, regardless of private property rights, so that the cortège could proceed in state to the appointed resting-place. Here on the slopes of Purple Mountain, in the vicinity of the Ming Imperial Cemetery, his glass coffin was laid in a specially prepared mausoleum, which was to become a national shrine.

From that time onwards, his photograph, surmounted by the national flag, together with his last will and testament, challenging the people to carry the Revolution to completion, has been hung prominently in every school and public building. Before this photograph, students in schools and colleges, government officials and representatives of the people, have been accustomed to gather once a week to render special homage to the Founder of the Chinese Republic. The ceremony is usually accompanied by at least one minute's silence, three bows, and the singing of the National Anthem, the first line of which exalts the Three Principles of the People—Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism, as outlined by Sun Yat Sen, to a position of prime importance.

For twenty-five years, since the inauguration of the Republic, the country had been seriously divided by all manner of factions, military and political. Sun Yat Sen, who was acknowledged universally as the Father of the Revolutionary Movement and the Founder of the Republic, had written, or others had written in his name, the Three Principles of the People, which became practically the Bible of the Nationalist Movement.

He had died at a critical period in the history of the Republic, penning his last will and testament as a challenge to the people to unite and struggle, until the Revolutionary ideal should be attained in a truly democratic government and freedom from the foreign yoke. He had whispered: “Struggle . . . Peace,” with his last breath.¹

What was more natural, therefore, than that the leaders

¹ Van Dorn, op. cit., p. 50.

of the Nationalist Party should utilize Sun Yat Sen, the modern incarnation of the Spirit of the Chinese nation, and devise special ceremonies of homage to his memory, in the hope that the cause of national unity might be furthered by this corporate and united expression of the people's loyalty to a national hero.

The slogan that has become most popular in connection with this cult is: "The spirit of Sun Yat Sen is immortal," and that seems to me to indicate the gist of the matter. For there is no doubt Sun Yat Sen, by his own passionate devotion to the cause of their freedom and progress, lives on in the hearts of his countrymen, and it is his spirit which the people as a whole wish to see perpetuated.

True, the initiation of one-party government and of the period of tutelage under the party, created some opposition to this cult with which the promotion of these ideas were intimately connected. For it is alien to Chinese genius to accept submissively a forceful unification of thought, or interference with their personal liberties. In this they are genuinely democratic.

But there is no doubt that the whole cult of Sun Yat Senism has played a prominent and not unworthy part in the moulding of the Chinese people into a nation.

The removal of the capital to Nanking was also a move destined to stimulate nationalistic feeling. Peking, the old capital, was redolent of Mongolian and Manchu subjugation. Further, the Legation quarter, with its armed guards, crenellated wall and steel gates, had represented in the Nationalist mind for over fifty years the grip of the foreign Imperialistic powers upon the vitals of the nation. It was, therefore, considered unsuitable for the National capital, apart altogether from its unfavourable geographical position.

Nanking was selected for a variety of reasons. It was the place from which Hung Wu, who threw off the Mongol yoke and founded the Ming dynasty in 1368, had set out to deliver his country.

Nanking is capacious. Its surrounding walls stretch for twenty-two miles in extent. Located on the Yangtze River, within easy reach of Shanghai, it is convenient for trade, and more centrally situated than Peking.

The development of the new capital proceeded apace.

Fine buildings in semi-Chinese style arose, of a grandeur hitherto unsurpassed; wide streets were made, allowing for systematic planning of parks, public buildings, shops, residences and the like. Purple Mountain, with its shrine of the national hero, overshadowed the whole, and the countryside around allowed of unlimited residential expansion.

By this move the foreign Legations in Peking were left high and dry as the tide of national life receded southwards. So the Ambassadors were compelled to move themselves and their staffs to Nanking.

While these political and cultural moves, designed to promote the national spirit, were being made, Chiang Kai Shek was not idle. He had successfully wooed Sung Mei Ling, whom he married on December 1st, 1927, was planning his famous march to the north and beginning to realize that Communism, as well as the war-lord regime, must at all costs be eliminated if the country was to be unified.

CHAPTER VII STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

IN the spring of 1926 we bade farewell to the province styled East-of-the-Hills (Shansi), and moved to that known as West-of-the-Hills (Shantung), to reside in the capital city, Tsinanfu.

During the eighteen years of our residence in Shansi we had been privileged to live under the regime of one of China's more "pacific-minded" war-lords, Yen Hsi Shan, who, by his consummate skill in "straddling the wall", and helped by natural geographical barriers, had managed to keep the marauding armies of his fellow war-lords at bay and maintain his province in peace.

He had shown himself consistently friendly to foreigners, and had sought the co-operation of missionaries in the remarkable work of reconstruction to which reference has already been made.

But now we found ourselves in a different atmosphere. Ever since 1897, when the Germans had been given the "privilege" of building the East and West Railway through the province, Shantung had become a "miniature cockpit" of Asia. Japan, who had claimed special interests there since the European War Settlement of 1918, was ready on every pretext to occupy the railway and the capital city.

The incessant civil wars of the post-revolution period, and the political agitation and boycotts connected with the Nationalist Movement, had given her frequent opportunities for that. When we arrived in Tsinanfu in the summer of 1926 we found quite a considerable Japanese force in occupation, and in addition some twelve hundred of their civilian nationals, resident there and engaged in the seemingly more peaceful pursuits of trade and diplomacy.

During the twelve years of our residence in Shantung (I left in 1938) there were frequent changes in the Governorship of the province, which in itself was a notable contrast

to the Shansi regime. The Shantung officials during this time were of different calibre and outlook from those in Shansi, one or two of the Governors, in particular, being more concerned with the lining of their war-lord pockets than the welfare of the people.

Among them was one who had formerly been a bandit chief in Manchuria, who, during a visit by the President of the Christian University and myself, proudly declared that he had received his education in the "University of the wilderness"! It was said he was practically illiterate. But the two things he was reputed not to know were the number of "ladies" in his harem and the state of his bank account. His morals were a byword. One of these "ladies" visited my wife one day, and completely unabashed, announced herself as Number 17! At night-time the Provincial Yamen witnessed orgies of feasting, gambling and lust. Frequently in the midst of these banquetings and revellings, political enemies of the Governor were eliminated either by point-blank revolver shots at the table, or by more subtle methods known only in the kitchen!

He did, however, do one good thing for the city, although it was carried out in the true war-lord manner. The approaches to Tsinan on the west side were narrow and constricted. Traffic "jams" were frequent, camels, mules, barrows, rickshaws, motor-cars and myriads of slow-moving and heedless pedestrians being jostled together in the greatest confusion.

The Governor issued an order. In ten days the road must be widened to more than double. The shops lining both sides of the road must be "pushed back" fifteen feet, but no compensation would be given owing to the advantages of the wider street that would accrue to the shopkeepers themselves!

His "political" murders were so numerous that many families, in conformity with the ancient Chinese custom of the "vendetta" (whereby a son was obliged to kill the murderer of his father), apart from their natural desire for vengeance, were awaiting a convenient opportunity to dispose of this modern tyrant. The chance came to one young man whose father had been summarily executed some years before, and he shot the Governor dead on the Tsinan station platform. The assassin was tried, but "released"

on the ground that his deed was "justified"! True, much of ancient China persists.

An interesting feature in Shantung in those days was the presence of a corps of White Russians, who had been incorporated into the Governor's army. These usually formed the vanguard of his forces in war, especially, as was frequently the case, when the "enemy" was tinged with "Red". Incidentally one might mention that there were tens of thousands of these White Russians in China, many of them highly cultured, but the vast majority in deepest poverty.

Later on, he was succeeded by a Governor who had also risen from the lowliest station, not, however, by means of the Civil Service system, for he was comparatively unlettered, nor on the basis of "moral worth", for he too kept a harem. At one time he had been the stoker in Feng Yü Hsiang's kitchen, but by military prowess and several favourable turns of fortune's wheel, had become Governor of one of China's most populous and most important provinces.

Unschooled in the Confucian philosophy of "moral influence", and unskilled in handling men by any but military measures, he instituted a stern legalistic regime not, it was generally agreed, out of respect for law and order, but as one means of increasing his bank balance, most of which, so it was said, was transferred to Japan.

Amongst other things he instituted the death penalty for "bribery". A Chinese doctor of our acquaintance, who had been educated at the Christian University in the city, to which we were attached, had, in a thoughtless moment, and in a desire to help an innocent victim of blackmail, offered a "gift" to the judge, in the hope of a just verdict. The judge informed the authorities, the doctor was arrested, the death penalty pronounced, and the execution ordered for the next day but one.

His friends asked for my help, and having been assured by local Christian leaders as to the facts, I agreed to appeal to the Governor for clemency.

I was told it was the Chinese custom in such matters to make our appeal before daybreak, so we arrived at the Yamen about 5.30 a.m. After but a moment's pause, we were ushered into the Governor's private apartments. We

concluded that he must have been apprised of our "call", for he appeared to be quite ready for us.

The story was told. "Ah," he said, "just a hasty, unpremeditated act. You guarantee the doctor is a good man? Very good, I'll let him off, but the law must be honoured—I'll fine him a few cash." The "few cash" turned out to be \$2,000—about £150. But that was readily subscribed by his fellow-townsmen, and the next day the doctor was released. Dressed in his best silks and satins, and accompanied by his wife, smiling gratefully through her tears, he came to *kotow* (bow his head to the ground) to his deliverers.

Later on I learned that such sentences of death and such "redeeming" fines were not at all unusual.

That was one way in which Chinese justice was administered in Shantung¹ then, and the Governor's revenues increased.

The advance of the Japanese into Shantung once again at the end of 1937 exposed this second Governor in his true colours. For, having failed after prolonged negotiations to drive a satisfactory bargain with the Japanese, which, if he had succeeded, would have enabled him to keep and even enlarge his "food-bowl", he withdrew his forces without a fight, hoping to set up an independent and equally profitable regime farther west. This let the Japanese army into the city about the end of the year.

Two of his divisional commanders were, however, opposed to this treacherous act, and although they too withdrew in obedience to orders, they both distinguished themselves later in the great Chinese victory of T'ai Erh Chuang, in the spring of 1938. But the Governor himself was inveigled into the Generalissimo's camp, and, after trial, executed for traitorous conduct. Ts'u Chi says that "the blood of this Military Governor wrote the last page in the history of the Chinese war-lords and the Japanese intrigues with Chinese militarists".²

Such were the conditions obtaining in many parts of China prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, July 1937.

No wonder that Chiang Kai Shek, in his efforts to unite the nation, felt it necessary not only to eliminate Com-

¹ Madame Borodin was under supervision in Tsinan for a while.

² *Short History of Chinese Civilization*, p. 290.

munism, but many of the war-lords as well. For as long as Provincial Governors like these remained in office, it was quite impossible to unite the nation. In 1927 the Nationalist Party broke finally with the Communists, whose Russian agents were repatriated, and in 1928 Chiang Kai Shek was appointed Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the reorganized National Government, a position which he had temporarily resigned. In the same year, as a result of the triumphant progress of the Northern Expedition, under Chiang Kai Shek's lead, Peking was occupied by the Nationalist Forces; Manchuria hoisted the new Republican flag, and a semblance at least of national unity was achieved.

CHAPTER VIII GROWTH

1. (*General*) Religious Influences

IN the last few chapters we have been mainly concerned with political developments in China during the period 1911-1926. But, as has been hinted here and there, influences of another kind but no less important had been at work, stimulating the nationalistic spirit of the people, and moulding the nation slowly but surely into a cohesive and progressively effective unity. Such influences were of a spiritual and cultural character, as represented by religious and educational movements. The influence of Confucianism in this connection has been fairly fully discussed. Other religions, like Buddhism, Taoism and Mohammedanism, have each rendered some distinctive contribution to various aspects of Chinese life. But considerations of space prevent any further reference to them. I shall therefore confine myself to a discussion of the influence of Christianity in connection with Western education and social progress.

2. Educational Influences and Student Movement

We have already said that the re-birth of China was due primarily to the impact of Western ideas, and in particular to the influence of modern Western education.

This has brought about great and far-reaching changes in Chinese education during the last fifty years. The system of state examinations, based exclusively on the Confucian Classics, which had been for centuries the sole avenue to official preferment, was abolished by one stroke of the Imperial pen in 1905. This was succeeded by a national system of education, based on Western models, with emphasis more recently on practical subjects. By 1935, China had fifty-four Universities, with curricula similar to those found in British or American Institutions,

an equal number of Colleges, and over 300,000 lower-grade schools.

When the laws of the Republic were drafted in 1912, provision was made for the first time in Chinese history for female education under Government auspices, compulsory attendance being instituted for both girls and boys. In 1933 over twelve million children were in Primary Schools, of which a large proportion were girls.

As a result, the women of China to-day, with unbound feet and unfettered minds, have emerged from the agelong seclusion of their "behind-the-screen" existence, and are enjoying a physical, mental and social liberty which fifty years ago would have been inconceivable. They enter school and college, partake in open-air games and sports, train for the professions, and are found even in the police and armed forces of the nation. The Women's League of China has come into being and has sponsored influential movements for temperance, better homes and women's rights. The sexes, kept rigidly apart by the ancient conventions, are gradually developing a healthy sense of comradeship and co-operation in home, college and public life.

Women as well as men, in large numbers, have been sent abroad for their higher education, and China has now at her disposal a considerable group of "returned" women students, of whom Madame Chiang, Miss Wu Yi Fang and Miss Tseng are shining examples.

Here I must pause to pay tribute to the students of China. As one who engaged in high school and university work for over twenty years, I have had my troubles with Chinese students, particularly after they became politically conscious. This began with the organization of the Student Movement in Peking on May 4th, 1919, at the conclusion of the Paris Conference, when Chinese hopes were sadly disappointed regarding the retrocession of foreign rights in Shantung, Japan's notorious twenty-one demands, and their attainment of equal rights with other powers. It will be remembered that the Chinese delegates to this Conference refused to sign the Versailles Treaty of Peace.

From that time the Student Movement adopted two slogans: "Down with the militarists", by which they meant the Chinese war-lords, and "Down with the Imperialists", by which they meant Great Britain, America, France, Japan

and others, who were seemingly unwilling to respond promptly or adequately to their national aspirations.

On this occasion also the students staged a serious revolt against officials who had been responsible for the endorsement of a recent agreement with Japan which, in their estimation, signed away still more of China's sovereign rights.

Following on the launching of this Movement, with which active and aggressive participation of Chinese students in politics began, and which has been such a remarkable feature of modern China, a Students' Union was formed in each university and secondary school throughout the country.

From that time on, those of us who were engaged in educational work resented their seemingly interminable strikes, boycotts, and incessant demands for extra holidays to stage demonstrations against the Militarists and Imperialists, principally the British! We were met, too, with frequent requests, as examination time drew near, to hand out the questions beforehand, owing to the time having been preoccupied with political activities, or even to pass the students without examination at all. At times, too, we had to deal with requests for the dismissal of unpopular teachers or even the Principal himself (!) by Students' Councils of Management.

For the best part of one night, together with a number of co-managers, I was locked in the board-room of one college, while students picketed the doors, in an attempt to make us change our "honourable Directors' minds" as to the curriculum.

But as I look back, I see that the students of China, in spite of their frequent unreasonableness, many indiscretions, and their aberrations, have been one of the most patriotic elements of the Chinese nation. At times one was inclined to question their sincerity as they talked of "sacrificing their studies" for their country. But the "sacrifice of their lives", which many of them have made, in their agitation against unscrupulous war-lords, traitorous officials and unsympathetic Imperialists, leaves one in no doubt as to their motives. The Japanese have paid the students of China a great tribute by bombing and burning down colleges such as the Nankai University at Tientsin, for it is the students

of these colleges who, in spite of having no official representation in Government circles, have consistently voiced the nationalistic feelings of the Chinese people as a whole. Thanks to them, many in high places in China who were clandestinely selling their country to Japan, have been unseated. It is due largely to them also that important questions connected with the "unequal" treaties and "extra-territoriality", have been kept continuously before the public mind. China now stands on a new basis of equality with the great democratic powers of the world. For this, no small share of the credit belongs to the students of China.

Concurrently a New-Thought Movement arose, characterized by great intellectual activity on the part of its leaders, among whom Hu Shih and Ts'ai Yuan Pei were prominent, and which has introduced to China every "ism" of modern thought and every type of Western political ideology. Foreign educators like Dr. John Dewey and Dr. Paul Munroe, toured the country interviewing officials and lecturing to large audiences. The Chinese date their intellectual renaissance to this time.

Interest in agriculture and industry was also stimulated, the visits of the late Dame Adelaide Anderson in particular leading to the introduction of New Factory legislation, the results of which were soon seen in the erection of many fine factories with good lighting and ventilation, reasonable hours and holidays, good pay and even profit-sharing schemes. I frequently visited two cotton-mills in Tsinan, the working conditions in which were as good as any I have seen in England, and I am a Lancashire man!

This was the time, also, when women students began to take their place in public life, joining with the men in these various political activities.

To this intellectual and social renaissance of China, the Christian Church, through the agency of the Missionary Movement, both Roman and Protestant, has rendered a distinctive and notable contribution.

3. Influence of Christian Education

The Reform Movement of 1898 owed much to Christian influence. Men like Kang Yu Wei, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao,

Wen T'ung Ho, and Chang Chih T'ung (whose memorial *Learn* is a classic in the history of Chinese Reform), all acknowledge their indebtedness for many of their new ideas to the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge, and to the personal influence of missionaries connected with it, like Dr. Timothy Richard.

Christian educators like Dr. W. A. P. Martin, Dr. C. D. Tenny, Dr. J. C. Ferguson, Dr. Timothy Richard and Dr. W. M. Hayes, as Presidents of National or Provincial Universities under Government auspices, exercised great influence on large numbers of China's future leaders. Incidentally it was Dr. Hayes who suggested to Yuan Shih K'ai the memorial which, after approval by the throne, inaugurated the Chinese Government Educational System of to-day.

Christianity, by its own educational work, has produced many political leaders for the country.

George E. Sokolsky, a well-informed writer on Oriental affairs, wrote a few years ago: "In the moulding of personality the Mission Educational System has served China more than any other agency. . . . The missionary's contribution to the remaking and rebuilding of China lies in the revival of vital personality among the leadership of a people who have grown stiff, sluggish and forceless."¹

Dr. Sun Yat Sen received his early education in Christian schools, and was buried with Christian rites. His Christianity was expressed mainly in political, revolutionary and social reform movements. It was due to the efforts of Dr. Sun and his Christian political associates that religious liberty was incorporated in the Republican Constitution of 1912.

Prior to this all Government posts had been the jealously guarded monopoly of Confucian scholars. But thanks to Christian enterprise, service in the political sphere was now made open to all, irrespective of their religious affiliation.

The foresight of those missionaries who earlier on had advocated education as an integral part of Christian Evangelism was justified. For now that the opportunity was afforded, considerable numbers of well-educated and socially-minded Christian men and women were available

¹ In the *China Weekly Review*, 1932.

and stepped rapidly into the vanguard of the reforming forces of the nation.

The Christian educational system has expanded rapidly in recent years. At the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, in addition to thousands of primary schools, 260 high schools, with over 50,000 students of both sexes (about one-tenth of the total for the country), were functioning under Christian auspices, and now there are thirteen Universities with over 9,000 students out of 52,000 of University grade associated with the Protestant Movement alone.

From 1926 until the late summer of 1938, I was attached to the staff of "Chceloo", or the Shantung Christian University, which comprises Schools of Medicine, Theology, Arts, Science and Nursing, as well as Extension and Rural Departments. In addition to many professors provided by the eleven co-operating Missionary Societies, a large number of Chinese "returned" students were on the staff. The University received men and women students in all schools and departments.

This University, located in Tsinan, had at the beginning of 1942 an enrolment of 651 students, including 238 women. The Whitewright Institution connected with it, with its museum of popular education, has made a widely recognized contribution to general knowledge and social progress, in addition to breaking down the anti-foreign and anti-Christian prejudices of the common people. During the last three decades an average of 350,000 people a year have passed through its turnstile.

So formidable had the educational work of the Church become that by 1925 those who associated Christianity with Western Imperialism dubbed it the "spearhead" of the whole Christian Movement, and attacked it as a "Cultural Invasion".

In connection with the Nationalist Movement new regulations were introduced compelling all foreign educational institutions, including those organized by Christian Missions, to be registered with the National Government; to have a truly educational aim; and to be Chinese in administration. This involved the reorganization of governing bodies to allow of a necessary two-thirds majority of Chinese members. It was required that presidents and heads of colleges should be of Chinese nationality; and it was not permissible

to "teach Christianity as a required subject" in the higher grades of schools. The teaching of religion was banned altogether from the primary schools. This change, received with some apprehension by missionary educators at first, has in the end contributed towards a better understanding of Christian education, and to more cordial and co-operative relationships with the official and educated classes.

More recently the National Government has lifted the ban on religious education in primary schools, and the probability is that the adoption of the voluntary principle, or the introduction of conscience clauses regarding the receiving of religious instruction, will become the recognized procedure.

No less than ten thousand alumni of Protestant Colleges and Universities are at work in China to-day. As teachers, doctors, nurses, preachers, writers; as directors of youth movements, promoters of mass education, rural reconstruction, co-operatives, and as Government officials in many spheres, they have rendered and are still rendering a valuable contribution to the development and progress of the Chinese nation.

Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador to Great Britain, recently said: "Six of my colleagues in the Embassy are Christian, and I know of at least six members of the present Chinese Cabinet who are graduates of Christian Universities." That is a statement which could be applied with equal force to the staffs of Chinese Embassies in many other lands.

But the best-known and most impressive instances of national Christian leadership are the Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, and Madame Chiang (popularly known as Sung Mei Ling), both of whom are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and who have become the unchallenged leaders of the Chinese nation. The Christian spirit, expressing itself through these two vital personalities, has, like a healthy and life-giving breeze, blown upon the bones of the old order, knit the nation together, and infused into it a new spirit of moral idealism, quickening it to suffer and strive for a better world. Through these and many others of kindred faith and enterprise, the Christian Church has become a powerful and transforming force in the life of the nation.

Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War it has been the considered policy of the Chinese Government to maintain, as far as possible, their educational system. China is not short of men for her armed forces. She need not call her students to the ranks, though they are willing enough to serve. In consequence, Universities and Colleges, Christian Institutions among them, have been transferred to the far west, where in ramshackle buildings and caves, dug-outs, or on existing and over-crowded campuses, they carry on preparing young men and women to serve their country in reconstructive work when the war is over.

Some Christian Universities, including Cheeloo (in Tsinan), and Yenching (in Peking), continued to function for the first four years of the war in the occupied zone, in the hope of providing educational facilities for such Chinese students as were compelled to remain. This gesture of sympathy with Chinese living under Japanese domination, met with a certain amount of criticism at first from some quarters. But nevertheless it has, by enabling hundreds of college students to continue their education under Christian and democratic auspices, helped to keep two "geographically divided" but "spiritually united" portions of the people together, and thus served the national cause. Both these Christian Universities ceased to function shortly after the Japanese declaration of war against Great Britain and the U.S.A. (December 7th, 1941).

4. Christianity and Social Progress

But the Christian contribution to China's unity and development is not confined to educational circles, nor to the "political" leadership of the nation.

"No one can study the religious life of the Orient without being impressed by the fact that *Christianity in these lands has plainly outstripped the Church.*" This is a quotation from the report issued in 1931 by an important Commission of American Laymen, after extensive and critical enquiry into the work of Foreign Missions in the Far East, and summarizes concisely the theme of this brief section.

The number of Christians in China is not great—about two and a half million, including Protestants and Roman Catholics. But the "leavening" influence of the Church in

the life of the nation is out of all proportion to its numbers.

By organizing relief measures on a large scale in times of famine, flood, pestilence and war; by its chain of well-equipped hospitals and schools; by its many orphanages, blind schools, leper asylums, and institutions for deaf-mutes; by pioneer work in education for girls as well as boys, China has become convinced of the social function and force of Christianity. It has been largely responsible for the creation of a "public spirit" which is, in its present form and on its present scale, an innovation in the national life. As Sokolsky says again: "Christian Missions have succeeded in turning the Chinese mind from a spirit of selfishness to a social consciousness."

Shortly after the establishment of the Republic, there was much agitation for Social Reform. It was, however, soon realized that if this were to become something more than a mere "programme", a religious spirit must be infused into it. For this the officials and other interested people began to look as never before to the Christian Church. Many who made no public profession of Christianity were stimulated to new efforts at reforms by Christian example and enterprise. We have already referred to Yen Hsi Shan, the "model" Governor of Shansi.

The influence of the social work of the Church is also observable in the rise of many Syncretic Religious Movements. These have not only found a place for Christ alongside Confucius, Buddha, Lao Tzu and Mohammed, but have at the same time sought to emulate in practical ways the philanthropic spirit of Christianity.

Notable among these is the "Tao Yuan" Movement, the members of which are drawn in the main from the wealthy and official classes. They worship in spacious, beautiful and chastely decorated halls, in which Christ is rendered equal homage with the founders of other great religions. The Red Swastika Society, modelled on the International Red Cross, has grown out of this movement, and has done a remarkable work in recent years for the wounded, the homeless and the destitute.

And so the Laymen's Commission (referred to above) were constrained in their report to say: "It is notable that there are great numbers, not enrolled as members of the Church, who have felt the attraction of the ideals, personality and

teachings of Christ, who are quietly living on a higher level because of it."

Many of these are found in the Tao Yuan and in kindred societies like the Universal Philanthropic Society (T'ung Shan She), and the Universal Church (Ta T'ung Chiao), both of which have exercised considerable influence in the country.

Some social movements started by the Christian Church have spread beyond it and expanded into nation-wide organizations. Among such are the China Medical Association, the National Nurses Association, which has exalted what was formerly regarded as a despised and loathsome task into a reputable and dignified vocation, and the Anti-Footbinding and Anti-Narcotic Societies which have likewise derived their inspiration from the example and activities of the Christian community.

More recently the Church has been in the lead again by stressing the need for "preventive" and "constructive" measures in Public Health, Prison Reform, Rural Reconstruction, Home Industries, Co-operative Farming and Banks, which are making headway in the general community.

Attempts to "popularize" the printed language, formerly the jealously-guarded preserve of the scholarly minority, have been frequently made. Dr. Hu Shih, for his efforts in this connection, has been justly entitled "The Father of the Chinese Renaissance", and is rightly placed in the goodly succession of Dante and Chaucer.

But the Christian contribution to literacy in China is by no means negligible. Missionaries of both the Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths, notably the latter, in their desire to give the Bible to the common people, adopted Mandarin as the literary "vehicle". In this connection the names of Medhurst, Shereshevsky, Blodgett and Griffith John are worthy to be linked with Luther and Wycliffe. By the promotion of the simplified phonetic scripts, they have also done a great deal towards reducing illiteracy, formerly the fate of 90 per cent of the population, and are thus eliminating a formidable obstacle to social progress. The work of Peill, of the London Missionary Society, was a stimulating forerunner of the National Phonetic Script.

But to Dr. James Yen belongs the credit of a really great

movement in Mass Education. From experience gained as a Y.M.C.A. secretary amongst Chinese coolies in France in 1916-1918, he devised the 1,000 character system. After returning to China, he gathered a group of Christian men and women, who under his inspiring leadership toiled laboriously for many years in the county of Tinghsien in the most primitive conditions, to promote widespread literacy and popular education. His work here was so successful that Dr. Yen was invited by the Chinese Government to organize a similar movement throughout the province of Hunan.

The special services rendered in China by the Church during the last five terrible years of war are well known. In relieving the sufferings of the people, in maintaining their morale, and by providing enterprising leadership in education, first-aid, and other important departments of the nation's life, Christians have contributed greatly to China's ability to "reconstruct" the basis of their national life while at the same time they "resist" the enemy.

In the words of Madame Chiang: "The Church in these years has rendered a vital service to the nation."

In the midst of this extensive and varied social activity the Church has also contributed to the moral and spiritual "quickenning" of the Chinese people.

Chiang Kai Shek, broadcasting to the nation at Easter 1938, said: "Let us make the spirit of Christ our spirit; let us march with Him to the Cross, in our effort to bring about a permanent peace among men, *and the revival of the Chinese people.*"

In making that appeal as a Christian and as the leader of the Chinese people, he was, in my opinion, psychologically "sound", for at one and the same time he was revealing the true "soul" of the Chinese people and the source of the Christian contribution to their awakening and quickening.

What Christian theology can contribute to Chinese thought is not yet sufficiently defined. For that we await with confidence the results of research work by experts like Dr. T. T. Liu and Professor T. C. Chao. But such contribution as is already discernible seems to lie in the "sharpening", "intensification" or "expansion" of the best in Chinese philosophy. It would seem that in this respect

Christianity is in process of "grafting" itself on to the Chinese tree rather than uprooting it.

But there is no doubt at all that the spirit of Christ, the holy "humane-ity" of His life, and His sacrifice in the cause of righteousness, have made a deep impression upon the Chinese mind and heart. So that the Generalissimo's call to his people to "sacrifice" themselves in the present war for justice and freedom, presented in the terms of Christ's own life and death, struck a responsive chord in the soul of the nation, and quickened it to newness of life. Amongst large numbers of the people, the "Christian" spirit and "public" spirit have become synonymous, and the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross has become the popular example of that "sacrificial" spirit which their great Christian leader has challenged his people to display.

This spirit, exemplified by the Generalissimo and his wife, and which breathes in the Church throughout the land; this readiness to suffer in a righteous cause, resisting to blood the evil things which the Japanese militarists seek to impose upon China, but at the same time seeking to repress all feelings of hatred for the Japanese people as a whole, is surely the one hope of "bringing about a permanent peace among men as well as the revival of the Chinese people".

It is, then, as a moral "dynamic", a spiritual "force" for the transforming of the social order and by bringing nearer and rendering more possible the realization of the "Golden Age" dream of China's ancient sages that Christianity has made its distinctive contribution.

CHAPTER IX COMING-OF-AGE

1. *The New Life Movement*

PREVIOUS attempts made by Chiang Kai Shek to impose unity on the country by military measures had met with little success. But his visits to North and West China between 1935-1936 contributed greatly towards this end, for by personal contacts with provincial and regional officials, he succeeded in convincing them of his genuine patriotism and goodwill. Madame Chiang accompanied him, and as they travelled everywhere by air, they were able in the course of a few months to visit more centres than had been reached before by any other national leader.

Their purpose in undertaking these journeys was two-fold. The first, as has been suggested, was to further the cause of national unity; the second, the promotion of the New Life Movement, which they considered of vital importance to the attainment of the first. We must, therefore, give some account of this Movement here.

The New Life Movement, which according to his biographer, Hollington Tong, Chiang Kai Shek regards as the "outstanding achievement of his life" and the "greatest force for unification that modern China has produced", was inaugurated by the Generalissimo in 1934.

It was a movement inspired by the need of the times, designed in part to offset the influence of the Communist party in the country—which was then very strong—and at the same time to challenge the whole nation to a moral crusade.

Beginning in Kiangsi, where the Communists had held sway for several years before their expulsion by the Nationalist forces and had imposed their own order on the province, the movement spread rapidly to other parts of the country.

It was based on very ancient moral principles promulgated first in the book of Kuan Tzu, who lived in the seventh century B.C. and which he had termed "the Four Pillars of the Nation". These I interpret as:

1. Self-respect and respect for others.
2. Right conduct and a sense of duty.
3. Honesty.
4. Moral sensitiveness, or a sense of shame.

These were intended to serve not only as the lode-star of personal conduct but as principles to be applied practically to everyday affairs, including the public administration.

At first we were rather amused at the seeming triviality and superficiality of the movement, as we saw it working out locally, for it seemed chiefly to consist of objectives summarized by such slogans as "Don't Spit", "Be Neat", "Kill flies and rats", and to be expressed in acts of over-officious policemen who would insist on measuring the length of women's sleeves or even their skirts, and on making perspiring rickshaw coolies put on their coats in a temperature of 106° in the shade.

But as time went by and the aims of the promoters of the movement were more clearly defined, we saw in it a sincere and determined attempt to set China's own house in order, morally and spiritually, hoping that by the revival of ancient virtues, and applying them to the existing situation, China would be better able to resist outside aggression.

It was soon seen that if this objective was to be gained, something more than mere moral exhortation was necessary, so as the Generalissimo and his wife travelled from place to place they sought the help of the Christian Church with a view to imparting the necessary spiritual glow and impetus to the movement.

Madame Chiang, in this as in everything else the helpful associate of her husband, challenged the Christian Church to see in this movement a unique opportunity for the social expression of their Christian faith. At the same time she was convinced that the right place to begin with plans for the regeneration of the nation was the "new birth" of the individual, and for that the Christian Gospel was essential.¹

The observable results of this movement are already impressive. Under the Women's Section, led by Madame Chiang, various services for the wounded, orphanages, clean homes and better village life, have been undertaken. Opium smoking has been discredited, dress has become neater,

¹ *New Life from Within—A Message to the N.C.C. of China.*

corrupt practices to some extent eliminated, punctuality observed, frugality encouraged, education and public spiritedness promoted. But what is more important, the movement has acted as a moral stimulant and an incentive to that high-souled patriotism which has done so much to arouse and vitalize the spirit of the Chinese people, and to equip them more perfectly for their future task as a modern democratic nation.

2. Nationalist and Communist

The Communists, after four years of desperate struggle (1930-1934), had been driven out of Kiangsi province by the Nationalist forces, and after a trek of over 6,000 miles, fighting as they marched (an epic of human endurance, portrayed by Edgar Snow in his *Red Star over China*), had established their headquarters in North Shensi and Kansu. This remote region, sparsely populated normally, and difficult of access on most sides, was nevertheless conveniently situated for communications with Russia, from whom the Communist leaders had derived most of their political ideology. At the same time, the nature of the terrain placed a formidable barrier between them and the Nationalist armies.

Against the Communists, who had for so long exercised a divisive and subversive influence in the nation, Chiang Kai Shek had sent the Manchurian armies, under the leadership of Chang Hsueh Liang. But the latter forces, disgruntled with the barren and inhospitable nature of the country, and suspecting that the Generalissimo's motive in sending them there was the hope that the two forces, by devouring one another, might facilitate his task of unification, began to parley with the Communist leaders, and to plan for rebellion.

Chiang Kai Shek, with his usual courage and determination, decided to visit Sianfu, the capital of Shensi, and the headquarters of the Manchurian army, to enquire personally into the situation. But as the outcome of a plot laid by the military leaders of the three groups—Communists, Manchurians and the local Shensi faction—the Generalissimo was seized at Lintung, after the slaughter of his personal bodyguard, and incarcerated.

The story of this incident, and the ensuing negotiations, has been often told; how the Generalissimo refused to submit to the demands of his captors while under duress; how he requested a Bible, the only reading allowed him during his captivity; of the hubbub and confusion his seizure had caused in Nationalist circles; their threat to despatch a large military force to bombard Sianfu; how Madame Chiang intervened and, accompanied by a friend and adviser, Mr. Donald, courageously flew to Sianfu to negotiate for her husband's release; of the return to Nanking on Christmas Day 1936 of the Generalissimo, together with his erstwhile captor, Chang Hsueh Liang; how the "faces" of all concerned were saved by the Generalissimo's acknowledging his share of the blame, and by the request of the Manchurian General for punishment, and the material issue of it all in the alignment of the Nationalist and Communist forces for resistance against Japan. This incident, eliciting as it did the deep concern of the people generally for the welfare of their leader in his captivity, and their almost delirious joy as the news of his release came through, greatly advanced the cause of national unity.

3. The Sino-Japanese War

Since September 18th, 1931, when the Japanese made a bomb explosion which wrecked a bridge on the Manchurian Railway near Mukden the occasion for invading and occupying Manchuria, they had on a variety of pretexts been gradually infiltrating into North China. In 1936-1937, a large force of their troops, violating the provisions of the Boxer Protocol,¹ were stationed in Peking. During that period I witnessed, time and again, mock battles staged by the Japanese in this famous city. Their troops would ruthlessly clear the Chinese off the roads, then rush hither and thither with fixed bayonets, fire off machine-guns at street corners, giving the impression that the old-time northern capital of China was already in their power.

Meanwhile a "puppet" government had been set up under a Chinese, Yü Jui Keng, in the area east of Peking. Through this territory, which bordered on the coast, great

¹ By this Protocol, it had been agreed that Japan should station a maximum of four hundred men in Peking as Legation Guard.

quantities of Japanese goods, avoiding the Customs barrier at Tientsin, came in untaxed.¹ For months Japanese merchants pre-empted most of the passenger accommodation on the trains in North China, piling the coaches to the roof with their tax-free merchandise. Japanese "ruffians", who were supervising this lawless traffic at various strategic centres, terrified the Chinese populace with their arrogant bluster and brutal ways.

Naturally all this infuriated the Chinese, particularly the students, who on occasion threw themselves on the tracks to prevent these train-loads of Japanese merchants and goods from passing inland. They also organized boycotts of Japanese goods throughout the country. But this only lent a further handle to the enemy. In 1936, Hiroto, the Japanese Foreign Minister, presented his three-point programme for the solution of the Sino-Japanese problem: (i) that China should abandon all anti-Japanese activities; (ii) that she should acknowledge the independence of Manchukuo; (iii) that she should unite with the Japanese to fight and eliminate Communism in the Far East.

This provided the tinder for the flare-up of the 7th July, 1937, when at Lü Kuo Chiao, in the vicinity of Peking, large Japanese forces, in the course of manœuvres, clashed with the local Chinese garrison. They demanded that the Chinese troops should deliver up a Japanese soldier who was missing, and thought to have been detained by them. He was later discovered, but meanwhile fighting had begun.

The Northern Provinces fell somewhat easily to the enemy, although notable resistance was offered for a while in Shansi. The story of the terrible atrocities committed by the Japanese troops in some of these northern towns and villages, akin in nature if not in extent with those perpetrated in Shanghai and Nanking, as described by Mr. H. J. Timperley in his book *What War Means*, has yet to be told.

I have described above how the Shantung Governor retreated from his province without a fight. The Japanese forces entered Tsinanfu, the capital, in the early morning of the 27th December, 1937. Accompanied by two Chinese

¹ Ts'ui Chi says that in the period between February and November 1936 the income from the Chinese Customs fell by £15,000,000 through this source, op. cit., p. 284.

friends, I stood outside the south suburb gate as the Japanese troops marched in. Some Chinese prisoners, roped together, neck to neck, greeted us with sickly smiles as they slouched along in the midst of their captors. Officers were riding on donkeys, or ladies' bicycles picked up on the way. An impressed Taoist priest was leading a sleek black ox. Chinese peasants who were approaching the city were brutally beaten and parts of machine-guns and other burdens laid upon their shoulders, and forced to march with the troops. Some twenty or thirty settled down near us as the guard of the gate, presenting all sorts of requests in Chinese, Japanese, Korean and broken English. In the main these were for wine, sugar and girls.

Then followed a week of terror and confusion. More than half the population, normally numbering four hundred thousand, had evacuated. Parts of the city were ablaze when the Japanese marched in, and the Chinese were still looting the big shops and banks and godowns in the settlement, permission for which had been given by the Governor before he left. In some instances Japanese soldiers were looking on. Small bands of these roved from house to house, directed sometimes by Chinese, in their search for girls. At the same time, orderly companies, each soldier with a towel under his arm, were making for the nearest bath-house! Japanese giants, for there are such, swaggered and blustered about, beating with their staves or belts any Chinese who came in their path, and bursting open shop doors and shutters in an effort to get terrified shopkeepers to reopen. Passers-by were stopped and relieved of their money and valuables.

Crowds of panic-stricken women and children had taken refuge in our churches, in the University, and other Mission institutions. Calls came to one and another of the missionaries at night from homes in the neighbourhood to go and rescue women from the attentions of drunken and lust-ridden Japanese soldiers. It was dangerous work. However, after about ten days the city settled down, and some sort of order emerged out of the chaos. But such scenes were repeated wherever the Japanese army came.¹

I should not like to convey the impression that all Japanese

¹ The behaviour of European armies in their sack of Peking 1860 and again in 1900 left much to be desired.

were equally brutal. There were some very friendly fellows amongst the soldiers. I was actually embraced by one, who had imbibed rather freely! and slapped by another for not raising my hat! But during the eighteen months of my contacts with them, their officers and civil officials, I received much consideration and kindness at their hands. In the course of numerous journeys in the occupied zone, I frequently saw the local Japanese garrisons assisting the Chinese farmers in the ploughing of their fields, or the harvesting of their crops, fondling Chinese babies, or sharing their rations with Chinese fellow-passengers in the trains. Several even bemoaned the tragic necessity of their presence in China and expressed disgust at the conduct of some of their comrades in arms. Similarly I have heard prominent Japanese Christians deplore the policy of their Government towards China.

There were some Christians among the soldiers, and occasionally these would join in worship and even partake of Communion with their Chinese brethren.

But having said all that, there is abundance of evidence to show that the "Bushido", or Knightly Code of the Japanese army, has been grievously besmirched by the savagery and lawless behaviour of their troops in China, particularly in their treatment of Chinese women and girls, and it is true that this accounts to a large extent for the determination of all Chinese to unite and resist until the enemy is driven from their shores.

But so far it has been an unequal struggle. Japan's navy is one of the strongest in the world, whereas China, at the outbreak of war, had a very few (mostly antiquated) cruisers and gunboats. Japan possessed thousands of planes, China a few hundred with a mere handful of trained pilots. The Japanese army, equipped with modern weapons, well-trained, fanatic in its patriotism, has been opposed by large numbers of high-spirited and determined Chinese soldiers, but poorly and inadequately equipped and provided for, and on the whole loosely organized. Lacking air support and the heavier munitions of war, these Chinese armies have been compelled to "sell space to buy time". However, by their heroic resistance and the adoption of guerrilla tactics, they have succeeded in "bogging down" about one and a half million Japanese troops in China, and have prevented Japan

from fully exploiting the resources of the occupied territory.

After the Russian manner, China from the first adopted the "scorched earth" policy. Fields have been flooded to retard the enemy's advance. Factories have been burned down, collieries blasted, railways and trunk roads cut up or destroyed. Forty million people have been involved in homelessness or poverty. Millions have migrated to the far west. College students and staffs have trekked eight hundred or a thousand miles in order to continue their studies in freedom, and prepare for the reconstruction of their country after the war. Factory machinery has been transported on mule-back and truck, and set up again in districts free of the enemy, and is now being used to produce the material sinews of war. Industrial co-operatives have been established to utilize migrated labour. New centres of education and new social enterprises have been launched, and a new era begun. For this great migration has led to the rediscovery and development of China's western hinterland, rich in its material resources, and where the people, animated by a new spirit of unity, determination, and mutual service, are reconstructing their national life, while the army continues to resist the enemy.

The defection of Wang Ching Wei from the Nationalist party in 1940, and the setting up of his puppet regime in Nanking, is no criterion of the spirit of the Chinese people. Although vast numbers have remained in the occupied territory, they are by no means pro-Japanese in their sympathies; rather do they suffer silently the humiliations to which they are exposed, waiting patiently and hopefully for the hour of release.

*"The power of armies is a visible thing,
Formal and circumscribed in time and space.
But who the limits of that power shall trace
Which a brave people into light can bring
Or hide at will,
For freedom combating,
By just revenge inflamed."*

True, the Chinese people are convinced that their freedom is at stake, and are to a great extent animated by the desire and hope of just retribution. But that is not the whole story.

Many observers have remarked on the comparative absence of the spirit of "hate" which characterizes the Chinese people in this terrible conflict. Although millions of China's soldiers have been killed, hundreds of thousands of her civilians slaughtered, tens of millions rendered both homeless and destitute, and much of her territory has been lost to the enemy, China's leaders have shown remarkable restraint in their public utterances, and the people a commendable spirit of patience and control in the midst of the enemy.

The Generalissimo and his wife have given the nation and the world a noble lead in this respect. For while they are determined to resist to the uttermost the unjustifiable aggression of the Japanese, and the evil regime which they seek to impose upon them, they are equally resolute in their determination to repress those feelings of hatred which so easily arise for the enemy, and which may, if they are allowed unbridled sway, ruin all prospects of a permanent and constructive peace after the war is over.

We are told on good authority that Chiang Kai Shek and his wife pray daily for the Japanese people, and that the Chinese soldiers are instructed to treat Japanese captives reasonably well. Joy Homer in her book *Dawn Watch in China* confirms this by instances which came under her notice, so that all that is humanly possible is being done by the Chinese not only to win the war, but to win the peace as well, in the Far East.

Madame Chiang, in the course of her recent visit to America, made the "haunting" statement that, in spite of the terrible things which have been inflicted upon her people and the world in general by the aggression and barbarity of the Axis Powers, it will be necessary "to forgive our enemies" if the world is to be spared a recurrence of the present horrors.

CHAPTER X WORLD RECOGNITION

1. *Preliminary Considerations*

IN the preceding sections of this book we have been considering China's long struggle for unity, the preservation of her territorial integrity and the maintenance of her sovereign rights. We have noticed the various ideals and influences, ancient and modern, indigenous and alien, which have contributed to her survival as a people, the moulding of her corporate life, and the development of her nationhood. We have also endeavoured to trace the rise and progress of her democratic ideals, and have noted the difficulties which have confronted her in her efforts to enshrine them in external political institutions.

Now we are to attempt to estimate the place of China among the nations of the modern world. We are doing so in the midst of an almost universal war, in which China and her people have played, and are still playing, a most important part. In the course of her conflict with Japan more than half of her territory has been penetrated, and at least one-fifth occupied by enemy forces. The issue of the world war is still undecided, and the fate of China hangs in the balance. But as these lines are being penned, signs are not wanting which encourage the hope that democratic ideals will emerge victorious from the strife, and that China, the ally of the democracies, will not only once more survive as a people, but as the youngest "democratic" nation, march triumphantly with the older democracies to the creation of a new world.

It is just over a century since China was forced into that trading, political, cultural and war-like contact with the West which has so greatly affected her ancient political structure and transformed so much of the social life of her people. It is as a result of that, that she is rebuilding her nation on a foundation which combines elements of Eastern and Western political creeds.

During the past one hundred years, in this struggle

for adjustment to a new environment, China has been periodically subjected to the humiliation of military defeat, the attrition of her territory, the infringement of her sovereign rights, and alien interference with her economic life. Rightly or wrongly, for it must be recognized that China's former attitude to the West accounts for some of the difficulties, China has discerned the hollow ring of such resounding shibboleths as "territorial integrity", "the open-door policy", "equality of opportunity", and the like, convinced that the Japanese and Western nations have been seeking in the course of these century-old relationships to control her affairs, and relegate China to a subordinate and even subservient place amongst the nations of the modern world.

2. Objectives of the Revolution

When the overthrow of the Manchus by military action in 1911 had made the Chinese once more masters in their own house, after an alien over-lordship of over two hundred and sixty years, and they faced up to all that was involved in the new situation, we find them, as the Republican regime was inaugurated by Sun Yat Sen at Nanking, January 1st, 1912, outlining the great objectives to be achieved as two, viz.:

1. The creation of a constitutional democracy.

2. The securing of political equality with other powers, in which freedom from foreign political and economic control was envisaged, on the understanding that China and the powers concerned would afford each other equal facilities for immigration, trade, and cultural and diplomatic relations.

In making his inaugural speech to the representatives of the provisional National Government then assembled, Dr. Sun declared: "We shall do our best to carry out the duties of a civilized nation, so as to obtain the rights of a civilized State."

That he himself had done his best, will, I think, be generally admitted. Whatever opinion we may hold regarding certain incidents in his life and aspects of his policy, we cannot doubt the sincerity with which he advocated his revolutionary principles, or withhold our admiration for the determination with which, until his death in 1925, he

applied them to both "internal" and "external" affairs.

He had at least succeeded in keeping before the Chinese people the two great aims of democratic government and political independence from alien control.

These ideals he had embodied in his book *The Three Principles of the People*, described as "Nationalism", "Democracy" and "Socialism". He had, however, before that written another book, *The International Development of China*,¹ which by its advocacy of collaboration with foreign powers and the use of foreign capital in the economic and industrial reconstruction of his country, considerably modifies the somewhat rampant and extreme nationalism of the three principles.

In addition he had, in penning his last will and testament, left a challenging legacy of his spirit and ideals to the nation. This reads:

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

"The work of the revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my Plans for National Reconstruction, Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, Three Principles of the People, and the Manifesto issued by the First National Convention of our party and strive earnestly for their consummation. Above all, our recent declarations in favour of the convocation of a national convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heart-felt charge to you.

"SUN WEN."²

This, as has been indicated, was accepted by Sun's suc-

¹ Published 1922, Preface reads: "In order to solve the Chinese question I suggest that the vast resources of China be developed internationally under a Socialistic Scheme, for the good of the world in general, and the Chinese people in particular."

² Van Dorn, op. cit., p. 49.

cessors as their chart and compass for all their future "voyaging" on the seas of internal rehabilitation and external adjustment. How stormy the seas have proved to be, and the many rocks, shoals and quicksands they have encountered in their journeyings, is the story of the last few chapters.

3. *Progress Towards Democracy*

The "thorough awakening of the Chinese people" and "the calling of a National Convention" have proved to be arduous and slow tasks.

But progress has been made. The long dark night of Northern and Southern factions, of War-Lords and Republicans, of Communists and Nationalists, is passing in the dawn of a rising national consciousness. China is no longer a mere "geographical expression", her people no longer "a rope of sand".

Thanks firstly to the zeal and enterprise of Chiang Kai Shek and his wife, in reviving and enthusing the national hopes and aspirations of the Chinesç people, and secondly to the brutal aggression of Japan by its repeated and heavy blows, the hot and malleable spirit of China has been forged into a large measure of national unity.

It is not so long ago, October 25th, 1932, that Dr. Hu Shih, speaking at Nankai University, Tientsin, described the internal state of his country as the "five devils of poverty, weakness, ignorance, corruption, and turmoil".¹ It would be absurd to claim that all these devils have been already cast out, but here again the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang have, by their ardent promotion of the New Life Movement, infused a new spirit of self-respect, enlightenment, honesty and power into the nation, which at least has made these "devils" tremble!

To the wonder of the modern world, China is steadily pursuing, in the very midst of a life-and-death struggle for survival, a policy designed to "reconstruct" fundamentally her political, social and economic life.

Hu Shih's challenge in the speech above referred to, that the masses of China should be "educated" so that her new nationhood might be erected on the foundation

¹ Reported in *Peking and Tientsin Times*, October 29th, 1932.

of an intelligent and efficient people, has been bravely met. Dr. Wellington Koo, in a recent speech, affirmed that over forty million had become literate in the last two years.¹

In the sphere of Government, progress towards constitutional democracy has been rendered peculiarly difficult by the internal chaos and confusion of the last thirty years. But in spite of that, progress has been made towards equipping the people for representative government. In support of this, one might instance the expansion of popular education, the success of the industrial co-operative movement, the higher conception of the soldier's calling, the complete transformation of women's life, the change-over in education from purely cultural to scientific, social, economic and agricultural ends, and the increasing interest of students of both sexes in village life, in hygiene and in the political enlightenment of the common people. But still it is true that "the Republican ideal has not yet been achieved".

The nearest approach yet made to Parliamentary Government is the People's Political Council, consisting of two hundred and forty members. Sixty of these are nominated by the Executive Council of the National Government, the remainder being allocated by various sectional organizations, like the Presidents of Colleges, Engineering and Medical Associations, Chambers of Commerce, and the like. With this is allied the National Economic Council which advises the Government on industrial, commercial and other economic matters.

It is, however, gratifying to note that the form of Government as outlined by Sun Yat Sen, and accepted by such representative groups as have been able so far to assemble, is definitely democratic in basis and form. This provides for the four rights of the people: (i) suffrage, (ii) recall, (iii) the initiation of the laws, and (iv) the referendum, or right to change the laws. The Government itself has five powers, viz. legislative, judiciary, executive, control (of Civil Service) and the censorship.

It is interesting also to note that the popular demand in China now is, according to recent reports from correspondents, for making the Control or Examination Board (which is responsible for the selection of officials), and the

¹ Reprint from *The Listener*, April 16th, 1942.

Censorship (which exercises control over them), more effective.¹

"As at present functioning, the Government is in the hands of the Kuo Min Tang, or National Republican Party, represented by its Central Executive and Supervisory Committee, consisting of one hundred and sixty members, representing the various civil and military organizations, and including representatives of the old Communist party. This meets at intervals of about six months. Between sessions their authority is delegated to a Standing Committee of seventeen members, consisting of the main party leaders, under the Chairmanship of the Generalissimo.

"The personnel and chairmanship of the Standing Committee is identical with the Supreme National Defence Council, which is the highest Government Authority in wartime.

"The National Government headquarters, under the Chairmanship of Lin Sen, who is virtually President of the Chinese Republic and to whom foreign ambassadors are accredited, has no executive or supervisory functions."²

But measures are afoot for the expansion of the membership and powers of the People's Political Council, and there is little doubt that China is slowly but steadily advancing towards Representative Democratic Government.³

It should be noted, in view of all the discussions that have taken place in recent years on the subject of "extra-territorial rights", that notable progress has been made in the improvement of China's judicial system, the reform of the law courts, and the administration of prisons.

4. "*Equal Status*"

So much for the internal developments of the Chinese nation during recent years. What of her external relationships?

¹ *China Newsweek*, comments by Gunther Stein.

² *China Newsweek*, published by Chinese Ministry of Information, London, March 13th, 1943.

³ The People's Congress, which was to pass the New Constitution, should have met November 1940, but the war necessitated its postponement. This was to have ended the Period of Tutelage by the Kuo Min Tang, and initiated something approaching Parliamentary Government.

At long last, partly out of recognition of the progress above recorded, but chiefly because of the heroic and persevering struggle which China has waged against Japan for nearly six years in the interests of the world-wide democratic cause of justice and freedom, the prolonged struggle for the promotion of China to a status of political "equality" with the great Western Democracies is ended, and China now takes her rightful and honoured place among the nations of the world.

"On January 11th, 1943, Great Britain and the United States of America signed treaties with China, renouncing their extra-territorial rights, and establishing equality in all dealings with the China that remains free, and with the larger China that will be freed by allied arms. These treaties, recording a fresh start between the Western Powers and their Eastern ally, fulfil the declarations of intention which Britain and America made on the 10th October, China's national day, last year, and they are only the beginning. Within six months of the allied victory, negotiations will be opened for the wider treaty towards which the agreement of January 11th is but a stepping-stone, a comprehensive treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights."¹

When this treaty is fully implemented, the practice by which British subjects could be tried by British Consular or other courts in China will cease. British nationals and companies will be subject to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China in accordance with the principles of international law and practice; the right of the British gained under the Boxer Protocol of 1901 to station troops in Peking and elsewhere will be relinquished; the special British rights in the international settlements in Shanghai and Amoy will be abrogated, the Chinese Government, on their part, undertaking to recognize all legitimate foreign rights, and the rendition of the British Concessions of Tientsin and Canton will in due course take place.

According to the terms of the new treaty the right is established for the nationals of each country to travel, live and trade throughout the territory of the other, on the basis of equal treatment between the Chinese and British peoples,

¹ London Times, January 12th, 1943.

and special rights given to British naval vessels in China waters, by former treaties, are relinquished.¹

There is therefore no longer ground for the old feelings of humiliation and resentment of the Chinese against the foreigners' assumption of superiority and their possession of special rights, thought to infringe upon China's sovereignty. Mutual suspicions, justified perhaps in the past, need no longer hamper our mutual relationships. Henceforward China, Great Britain and the United States of America go forward together on a new basis of mutual respect and co-operation, and foreigners will meet Chinese on the streets of Shanghai, Nanking and Tientsin on terms of complete equality.

Let it be admitted that at the moment this has mainly psychological value, though that is not unimportant. Indeed it means much to China in the midst of her tragic and critical struggle, that the hands of two great Western Democracies have been extended in respectful and grateful friendship. It means much, too, for us in the West, in that ancient maladjustments have been rectified, and old wrongs righted. It means much, too, for the healthy development of all future relationships.

Both Great Britain and America have, from time to time, expressed their desire to meet Chinese legitimate national aspirations in practical ways.

At the Washington Conference, 1922, China was practically granted tariff autonomy. In 1929 the visit of the Kemmerer Commission,² and the visit of the Leith-Ross Mission in 1935, proved to be of great assistance in settling Chinese currency problems. The retrocession of Wei-Hai-Wei and Yangtse ports had also served to assure China of our good intentions. Relief funds on a generous scale have from time to time been subscribed by the British and American people, and administered impartially amongst the suffering multitudes.

But in spite of all this China continued to be dissatisfied. She has been disgruntled with our dilatoriness to respond

¹ Based on London *Times* article, "Equality for China", 12th January, 1943.

² See Van Dorn, op. cit., p. 35. The Commission consisted of seventeen members, all American, and is supposed to have cost \$500,000 gold.

freely to what she conceived to be her rightful demands. She has been disappointed with our failure to implement, satisfactorily to her, our promises to render her all possible aid in the present struggle, and distressed by our inconsistencies in the early part of the war!¹ But now that the further step has been taken of abolishing unequal treaties and the special privileges of foreigners connected with them, China, happy in the possession of her new status of equality with the modern democracies, should have no reason for doubting the sincerity of our friendly intentions, and will be ready to forget.

And what of ourselves? On the crenellated walls of the British Legation in Peking are written the words: "Lest we forget", suggesting that we should always bear in mind the terrible events of 1900, and the "bad old days" of our mutual relationships. Has the time come for us to erase that and write: "Let us forget!"? For China, with her leadership vitalized by a Christian spirit, and galvanized by the social ideals of the Gospel, is ready to forgive even Japan.

5. *China's Destiny*

As these last lines were being penned the news of the publication of Chiang Kai Shek's book, called *China's Destiny*, has been received. The synopsis² which has reached me suggests that the Chinese fully realize the responsibility of this new relationship. For Chiang Kai Shek, in speaking of China's attitude towards the new treaties of "equality", declares that "all the efforts of the Chinese to accomplish the revolution and reconstruction of their country should henceforth be directed to psychological, ethical, social, political and economic rebuilding, so that China may become a state in which cultural and economic progress, and national defences form one harmonious whole". He affirms, too, that with the abolition of the "unequal" treaties, China has entered upon a new phase in national reconstruction. Amongst other things he proposes to adopt "a ten year reconstruction plan on a practical scale", including the

¹ In sending material aid to Japan.

² *China Newsweek*, Chinese Ministry of Information, London, March 13th, 1943.

building of 12,500 miles of railways, the production of 220,000 motor-cars and 12,000 transport planes. He calls also for 2,460,000 graduates from various grades of technical and vocational schools, pointing out that in the past five years graduates of such schools have totalled only 417,000. In conclusion, he assures his countrymen that there need be no fear of unemployment in the future for anyone possessing any kind of technical qualifications. "If a man does not abandon himself, he will not be forsaken by the State," he declares.

Under the heading "China's Destiny and the Future of the World", the Generalissimo gives his opinions on world peace organizations. International politics, economics and culture should be founded on the principles of freedom for all peoples and authority for all states. Only when this is realized can the causes of war be removed.

In drawing this study to a close, certain things may now be assumed. The new China will continue to retain much of the old foundations. Her old philosophy is grafted on to her national soul, the ancient ethical ideals survive in the hearts of her common people. She is still, and will remain, in my opinion, the cultured China of the Middle Way. She has finally identified herself with the democratic ideology. I have faith that she will be neither Fascist nor Communist.

Her philosophy, based as it is on belief in the ethical character of the Cosmos, expresses faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness, as the outcome of all the vicissitudes of the human scene. It centres in respect for human personality and consideration for the other man's point of view. The Chinese traditional ideal of social philosophy, rooted as it is in the harmony of the universe, will further the harmonizing of all human relationships. From time immemorial her philosophers have envisaged a world based on these great principles, ethically constituted and politically organized as a family of nations.

In so many respects China is unlike Japan. The latter, ruled by a military and economic autocracy,¹ remains Imperialistic in her outlook. Her social organization remains feudalistic. She feels destined, as she has practically

¹ See *Japan Defies the World* by J. A. B. Scherer, particularly Chap. 1, the Prologue.

planned, to gain and rule the world.¹ It would seem at present that only a revolution of the Japanese people, who have at times opposed the Imperialistic policy of the ruling class and who have been betrayed by them, can save her and make her a respectable and self-respecting member of the world-wide family. China has become democratic. Her feudal age is behind her. She has no territorial ambitions except to secure the return of Manchukuo. She depends not on military might but on moral force to influence the world.

All this should make her an ideal member of future Round Table Conferences. For there, standing four-square against all international injustice and unworthy and compromising attitudes, she will be found conciliatory, reasonable and helpful in unravelling knotty questions of international relationships. Ready to receive, she will be willing to give; making light demands of others she will impose the heaviest demands upon herself.

Her population of 460,000,000, representing a quarter of the whole human race, retains the idealism and mental flexibility of her long ancestry. She is proud, legitimately so, of her long civilization. But she is ready to learn from others, and adapt herself accordingly.

China, ancient—but rejuvenated, cultured and considerate, should, if we give her unstintedly the help of which she stands in such dire need, enable us to preserve the best elements in our two civilizations, and so ensure the creation of a truly civilized world.

¹ The memorial which General Tanaka presented to the Japanese throne in 1927, contains the following: "In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China. Having the resources of China at our command, we shall proceed to conquer India, the South Seas, Asia Minor, and finally Europe."

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